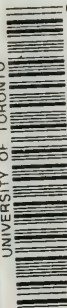


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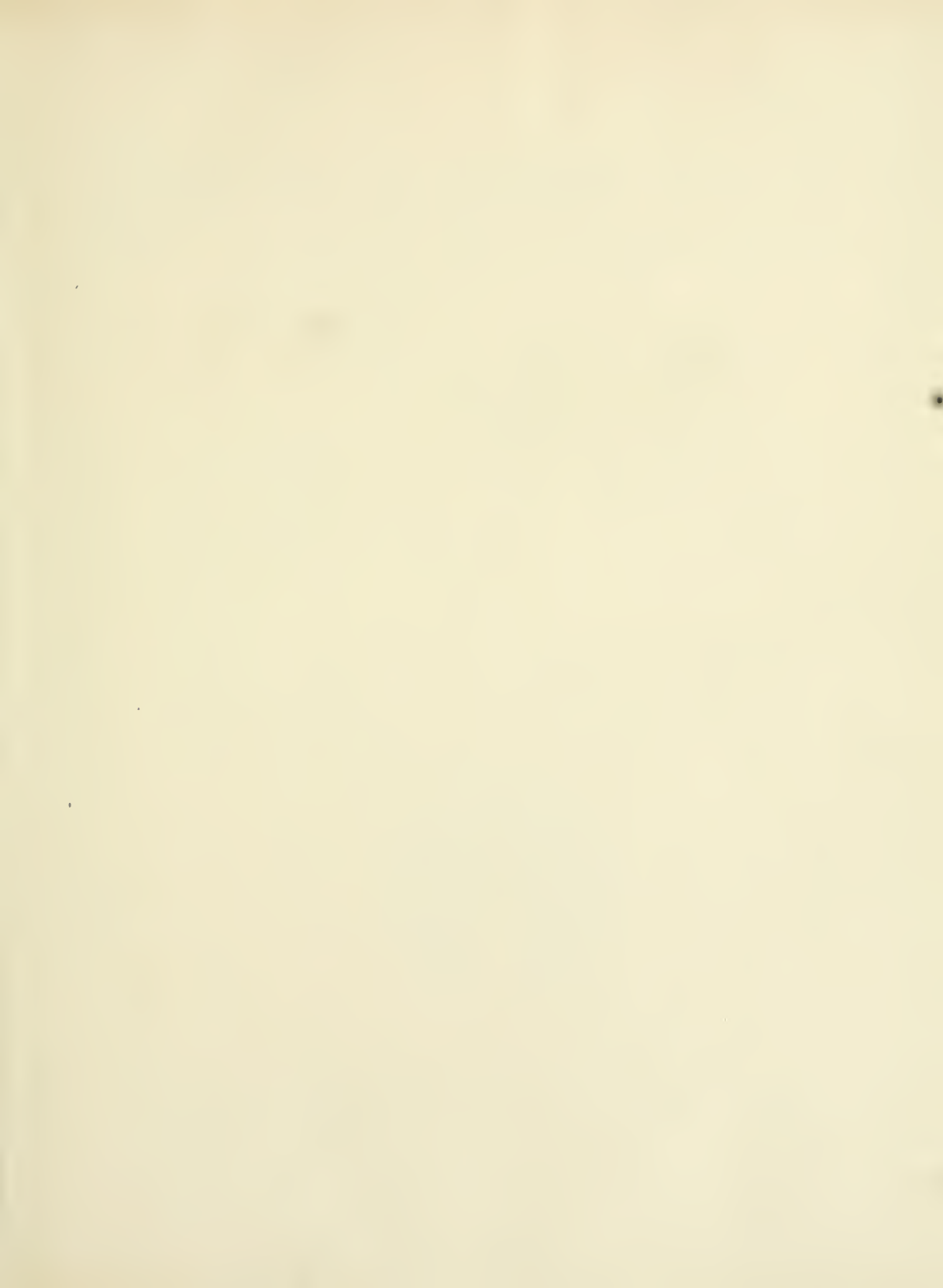






85. C











**G**eabhar Imuin. *The Book  
of Hymns of the Ancient Church  
of Ireland.*

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FASCICULUS I.

Containing

- I. The Hymn of St. Sechnall in Praise of St. Patrick.
  - II. The Hymn of St. Ultan in Praise of St. Brigid.
  - III. The Hymn of St. Cunmain Fota in Praise of the Apostles.
  - IV. The Hymn of St. Mugint.
- 

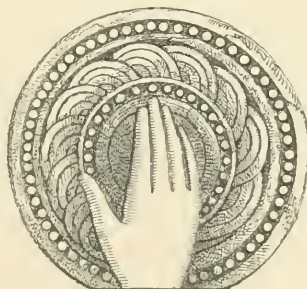
EDITED,

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT IN THE LIBRARY OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN,

With Translation and Notes,

BY JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D.D., M.R.I.A., F.S.A.,

Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Treasurer of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.



DUBLIN:

Printed at the University Press,

FOR THE IRISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND CELTIC SOCIETY.

1855.





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DUBLIN  
Printed at the University Press,  
BY M. H. GILL.

## NOTICE TO MEMBERS.

This Volume being only the first Part or Fasciculus of a larger work, the names of Members are not printed on the back of the title-page, which will be replaced by a permanent title-page when the book is completed.

The Editor is indebted to Mr. O'Neill for the drawing from which the Irish heading, in the ancient characters of the Book of Kells, has been engraved; also for the Vignette, representing the Hand of God, restored from the south-east Cross of Monasterboice (erected at the close of the ninth or early in the tenth century), where it occurs at the lower angle of the right arm, as if sustaining or supporting the Cross.—(See O'Neill's "Crosses of Ireland," Plate 15.) An excellent cast of this Cross was exhibited in the Dublin Exhibition, in 1853, and is now in the Crystal Palace at Sydenham.

The hand issuing from the Clouds, and surrounded by a *nimbus* or glory, is one of the most ancient emblems of Deity, and especially of the First Person of the Blessed Trinity. Several examples of it will be found in the *Iconographie Chrétienne*, and *Annales Archéologiques* of Didron. Speaking of one instance, which occurs in a *Liber Precum*, a MS. of the ninth century, in the Bibliothèque Royale, this learned author says:—"Ces mains sont la plus ancienne représentation du Père. Par respect, par une sorte de dogme religieux, . . . on ne montra du Père qu' une main bénissante, sans nimbe d'abord, avec un nimbe crucifère ensuite."—*Icon. Chrét. (Hist. de Dieu)*, p. 56; *Ann. Arch.* tom i. p. 16.

The Hand is especially introduced in the ancient representations of our Saviour's sufferings and passion; and frequently also in pictures of the martyrs and confessors, to denote the divine grace and support given to them in their sufferings. "Au jardin des oliviers" (says the author just quoted) "lorsque le Sauveur, abattu par une tristesse surhumaine, s'écrie, *Mon Père détournes de moi ce calice*, une main sort du ciel, la main du Père, qui bénit son fils, et le console. Lorsque sur la croix Jésus, prêt à mourir, jette à son Père ces paroles désespérées, *Mon Dieu, Mon Dieu, pourquoi m'avez vous abandonné!* on aperçoit se dessiner, sur le sommet de la croix, une main qui bénit, et qui est la main du Père. Enfin lorsque Jésus remonte au ciel, après sa passion, et tenant en main sa croix de résurrection, son Père lui tend la main droite, et l'aide en quelque sorte à s'élever. Ce dernier sujet . . . est expliqué par ces deux vers d'Alcuin, placés précisément sous une Ascension peinte,

DEXTERA quæ Patris mundum ditione gubernat  
Et Natum caelos proprium transvexit in altos."

—*Icon. Chrét.*, pp. 212, 214.

And compare the woodcuts on pp. 210, 212, 216, &c. of the same work.

This explanation accounts for the occurrence of this ancient emblem on the Cross of Monasterboice and other similar monuments in Ireland: and it may also serve as an apology for the introduction of it as a Vignette, on the title-page of the present work.

February, 1855.

J. H. T.





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IRISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND CELTIC SOCIETY.

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

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OME years ago the Editor of the present volume proposed to the Council of the IRISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY to print, with the assistance of his learned friend, Dr. Reeves, the celebrated *Liber Hymnorum*, now preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.

This beautiful MS., which cannot be assigned to a later date than the ninth or tenth century, may safely be pronounced one of the most venerable monuments of Christian antiquity now remaining in Europe. It preserves to us a considerable portion of the ritual of the Church of Ireland, as it existed before the English Conquest, and before the attempt to establish uniformity with the Church of England by the introduction of the Salisbury use into Ireland, in the twelfth century.

A large number of the Hymns which it contains have never been published, and are wholly unknown to the learned. The Latin Hymns are accompanied throughout by a gloss, partly Latin and partly Irish, and scholia, very interesting in a philological point of view; whilst those of them which are written in the Irish language are, setting aside their historical importance, most valuable, from their great antiquity, to the student of Celtic literature.

But the inherent difficulties of the work, as well as its expense, have hitherto deterred the Editor and the Society from proceeding with the publication. It was ascertained also, that an ancient copy of it, which had formerly belonged to the Franciscan Monastery at Donegal, is preserved in the Library of St. Isidore's College at Rome, and as a second copy would necessarily be of essential service in supplying the defects, and correcting the obscurities or the errors, of the Dublin MS., it was thought desirable to wait until an attempt had been made to get access to the MS. at St. Isidore's.

Time, however, is going on, and every year's delay is fraught with danger. The death of any one of the eminent Irish scholars, who have been so long engaged in the study of our ancient records, would render it impossible to bring out the work, at least the Irish portion of it, with the same fulness of illustration and accuracy which may now be attained. It seems desirable, therefore, to delay no longer the publication of this most important monument of our ecclesiastical history. Although the possession of another copy would, no doubt, be an immense advantage, yet it is better that the work should be edited from a single manuscript than not at all; and if at any future time we should be permitted to examine the copy now at Rome, it will be easy to give the results of the collation in an Appendix.

Influenced by these considerations, the Editor took occasion, from the union of the Archaeological and Celtic Societies, to propose to the Council the immediate publication of this important work; and, to meet the objection on the score of expense, he suggested the expedient of printing it in parts or fasciculi, to be brought out from time to time, as the funds at the disposal of the Society may permit.

The volume now presented to the Society is the first instalment, issued in pursuance of this design. It contains the text of the Hymns exactly as it stands in the *Liber Hymnorum*, without any attempt at emendation, even where there is a manifest error of the scribe; and



this part of the work has been printed in a type which, although it does not pretend to be a fac-simile, will give the reader a very correct idea of the characters in which the MS. is written.

The gloss has been printed, not over the words or down the margin, as in the original (for this would be attended with considerable and needless expense), but separately, or in the Notes, in a manner which it is hoped will be sufficiently clear and accessible to the scholar;—and this is all that the Editor has aimed at.

The Notes are confined to the elucidation of the text, the verification of obscure references, the explanation of obsolete words, and the collection of such various readings as have resulted from the collation of other copies of the several Hymns, whenever such were accessible. When longer illustrations are necessary, they are given at the end of each Hymn, in the form of an Appendix, or Additional Notes; and it has been thought desirable to place these at the end of each Hymn, instead of at the end of the volume, in order that each fasciculus may be, as far as possible, complete in itself; and that the whole work, when finished and brought together, may be found to have proceeded on an uniform plan.

It has not been thought necessary to add to the bulk of the work by giving English translations of the Latin portions of it; but the Irish Hymns, notes, and glosses, are everywhere accompanied by an English translation. In the original MS. every word, whether Irish or Latin, is written in the only character known to the scribes of the time, namely, that which is now preserved in Ireland only, and which is known as the Irish letter. But in printing those glosses or scholia which are in Latin, it has been thought advisable, as superseding the necessity of an interpretation, to employ the ordinary Roman type, the Irish words or sentences which occur in the gloss being uniformly printed in the Irish character, and followed by an English translation.

The contents of the book will be more fitly described, and its age and character discussed, when the whole is completed. It should

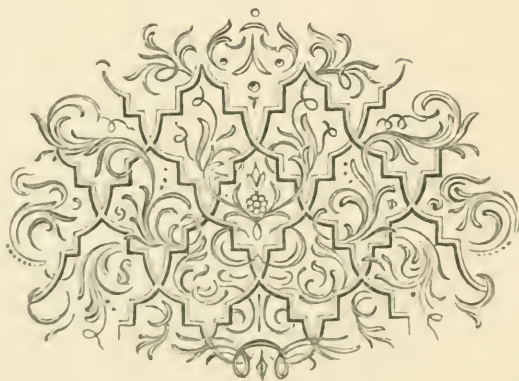
be observed, however, that although it is properly described as an Antiphonary, or Book of Hymns, it contains, nevertheless, several prose documents, such as the Epistle of our Lord to Abgarus, King of Edessa, the Prayer of St. John with which he rendered harmless the poisoned cup, &c.

In the present edition each Hymn or prose document is printed separately, and is preceded by a special introduction, pointing out the authorities, printed or manuscript, which have been employed in the illustration of it, with such remarks on its age and authorship as may seem to the Editor to be necessary.

The Editor is under deep obligations to Mr. Eugene Curry, without whose assistance the present work could not have been undertaken. He has also to return thanks to Dr. O'Donovan, and to the Rev. Dr. Reeves, of Ballymena, for much valuable information and many important suggestions during the progress of the work.

Special thanks are due to the Hon. Algernon Herbert, for many acute and learned remarks, of which the Editor has availed himself in several places.

J. H. T.



LIBER HYMNORUM.





# I. THE ALPHABETICAL HYMN OF ST. SECHNALL, OR SECUNDINUS, IN PRAISE OF ST. PATRICK.

THE following Hymn was first published by Colgan, in 1647 (*Trias Thaum.* p. 210); but he has not said from what manuscript authority he derived his text. It was afterwards printed by Sir James Ware, in the Appendix to his *Opuscula S. Patricii* (1656), from a MS. which had belonged to the Convent of the Franciscan Friars of Donegal, but was then in the library of Archbishop Ussher<sup>1</sup>. Ware had also, as he tells us, a MS. of later date (“manu recentiori exarato”), from which he has given some various readings in his margin<sup>2</sup>.

The Hymn was next printed in 1713, in the *Antiphonarium Benchorense*, published by Muratori, from a MS. of the eighth century<sup>3</sup>, written in the Monastery of Bangor, county of Down, and now preserved in the Ambrosian Library, Milan.

It was also reprinted from the editions of Ware and Colgan, by Dr. Joachim Laur. Villanueva, in his *Opuscula S. Patricii*, Dublin, 1835 (Append. No. II., p. 307). This learned writer, however, did not make use of any independent manuscript authority. It has been published also, copied exactly from Ware's edition, in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* of Gallandius, tom. x. p. 183.

The text of the present edition is printed exactly as it stands in the *Liber Hymnorum* of Trinity College, Dublin, the various readings of another manu-

<sup>1</sup> “Descriptus ille Hymnus alphabeticus, ex antiquo MS. Hymnorum, olim ad conventum ordinis minorum de observantia Donegallie pertinente, nunc in Bibliotheca instructissima Usseriana asservato.”—*S. Patr. Opusc.* p. 150.

<sup>2</sup> “Est et aliud hujus Hymni exemplar, è quo, licet manu recentiori exarato, variantes

aliquas lectiones ad marginem apponere visum fuit.”—*Ibid.* p. 151. This second copy was certainly not that preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*.

<sup>3</sup> Muratori, *Anecd. Ambros.* tom. iv. pp. 127–159: *Patav.* 1713; *Opere*, tom. xi. part. iii. pp. 217–251: *Arezzo*, 1770.

script copy, and of the above-named printed editions, being given in the Notes. This second MS. of the Hymn is preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*, or "Speckled Book," a great *Bibliotheca* of various ancient works in the Irish language, chiefly ecclesiastical, now in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. Although written in the latter part of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century, this copy was evidently transcribed from an older MS., and represents a text of a much earlier date. The text of the Hymn, both in the *Liber Hymnorum* and in the *Leabhar Breac*, is accompanied by a gloss and scholia, which are now printed for the first time. In some places, especially in the *Liber Hymnorum*, the gloss is obliterated, and is now illegible; in such cases, the hiatus is marked by dots. In a few instances, where the defect has been restored by conjecture, the words supplied are included between brackets.

It seems highly probable that the MS. of the *Liber Hymnorum*, quoted repeatedly by Colgan, and from which he published the Hymn of St. Sechnall, was the same which is now preserved in the Franciscan College of St. Isidore, at Rome. That MS. belonged to the Convent of Donegal, with which Colgan was associated, and it is now found in a foreign Franciscan convent connected with Ireland, and in company with other MSS. which were undoubtedly in Colgan's hands.

The same volume may also possibly be the authority to which Sir James Ware refers, and from which he derived his text of this Hymn, for he states distinctly that the MS. which he employed was formerly in the possession of the Convent of Donegal.

There are, however, some difficulties in the way of this opinion; there is no evidence to show that the MS. now at St. Isidore's was ever a part of the library of Archbishop Ussher, as Ware tells us was the case with the MS. he used; which was, he says, *olim* the property of the convent of friars minors of Donegal, but was *then*, when he wrote, in the Ussher Library,—"*nunc* in Bibliotheca instructissima Usseriana conservato."

Again, the text, as printed by Ware, does not agree with that edited by Colgan as exactly as it might be expected to do, if they had both copied the same MS., but neither does it agree exactly with that of the Dublin *Liber Hymnorum*; so that, even though we should suppose this latter MS., of which we have no evidence, to have belonged to the Convent of Donegal before it came into the possession of Archbishop Ussher, it would not follow that it was the MS. to which Ware refers. It must, however, be observed that too

much stress ought not to be placed on discrepancies of this nature, as the greater part of them may have arisen from careless printing, in which Colgan's book abounds, or from inattention to the characters and contractions of the MS.

On the other hand, it is to be borne in mind that Archbishop Ussher appears to have had in his possession, or at least to have had access to, another copy of the Irish *Hymnarium*, which may have been that from which Ware transcribed the Hymn. In the Epistle to Vossius, prefixed to his book "*De Romanæ Ecclesiæ symbolo apostolico vetere*," Ussher speaks of a "*Codex vetustissimus hymnorum, partim Latino, partim Hibernico sermone scriptorum*," as being then in his possession; from this MS. he cites a passage in which the Athanasian Creed is said to have been composed by three bishops at the Nicene Council; and another in which the *Te Deum* is ascribed to one Nicetas. Neither of these statements is to be found in the Dublin *Liber Hymnorum*, where the *Te Deum* is inscribed: "*Hæc est laus sanctæ Trinitatis, quam Augustinus et Ambrosius composuit*." The inference, therefore, is, that Ussher had before him a second copy of the *Hymnarium*; whether this was or was not the MS. now preserved at Rome, we have no means of determining. It would be interesting to know if that MS. asserts Nicetas to be the author of the *Te Deum*.

To avoid repetitions, the foregoing MSS. and printed editions have been referred to in the notes by letters of the alphabet, as follows:—

The <i>Liber Hymnorum</i> ,	. . . . .	H.
The <i>Leabhar Breac</i> ,	. . . . .	B.
Colgan,	. . . . .	C.
Muratori's edition of the <i>Antiphonarium Benchorense</i> ,		M.
Ware,	. . . . .	W.
Villanueva,	. . . . .	V.

The Hymns and other documents preserved in the *Liber Hymnorum* are, for the most part, preceded each by an historical Introduction, giving the name of the author, with the date and occasion on which each was composed. No such Introduction, however, is prefixed to the following Hymn, which is the first in the volume, and has only the title (in rubric), "*Incipit ymnus sc̃i Patricii episcopi Scotorum*"<sup>1</sup>. In Colgan's MS., however, there was a Pre-

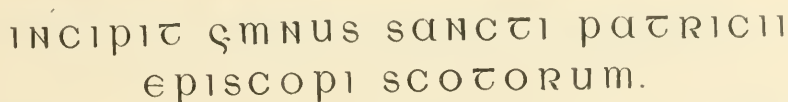
<sup>1</sup> In the *Antiphonarium Benchorense*, in prefaces, the title of this Hymn is "*Hymnus sancti Patritii Magistri Scotorum*."



face, of which he has given a Latin translation, probably abridged; and the copy of the Hymn in the *Leabhar Breac* has also one, never before published, which will be found, with an English translation and some explanatory remarks, in the Additional Notes.

The ornamented letter A, with which the Hymn in the MS. begins, was originally a very beautiful and elaborate specimen of ancient calligraphy, running down the whole margin of the page. It has suffered, however, very much by age and rough usage, and is in many places quite obliterated; this circumstance, together with its inconvenient length, has rendered it impossible to procure a satisfactory fac-simile of it, and therefore a letter, in a similar style of art, from the Book of Kells, has been substituted for it. All the other ornamented letters in the following pages are, however, exact representations of the illuminations of the *Liber Hymnorum*, from drawings by Dr. Aquilla Smith. In the original they are coloured with yellow, blue, and green.

Some further remarks on the following Hymn, which are deemed necessary for its illustration, will be found in the Additional Notes.



VOITE omnes amantes deum sancta merita  
uiri in christo beati patricii episcopi  
omodo bonum ob actum simulatur angelis  
spectamque propter uitam aequatur apostolis  
a christi custodit mandata in omnibus  
ius opera repulgent clara inter homines  
netumque cuius sequuntur exemplum mirificum  
de et in celis patrem magnificant dominum

GLOSS. B.—2. *Patricii*.—i. qui sedet ad latus regis, vel pater civium; patricius nomen πατρις la pomanu [nomen gradus apud Romanos] qui patricium regit. 3. *Bonum*.—Propter. *Simulator*.—Similio, i. cop-maligum i. bamlaigim [I compare, assimilate]. 4. *Apostolis*.—Apostolus i. missus interpretatur. 5. *Custodit*.—i. Patricius. *Mandata*.—i. evangelii. *Omnibus*.—i. operibus. 6. *Clara*.—i. ingna [wondrous]. *Inter homines*.—i. pua bamib [before men]. 7. *Sequentur*.—i. homines. *Exemplum*.—U dicitur, sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus ut videant opera bona vestra, et glorificent patrem vestrum qui in celis est. 8. *Magnificent*.—i. magnum facientes homines, in nomine Domini.

3. *Simulatur*. — Similatur, W. M. V. There is a gloss over this word in H.,

CONSTANS IN DEI TIMORE ET FIDE IMMOBILIS  
 SUPER QUEM EDIFICATUR UT PETRUS ECCLESIA 10

CUJUSQUE APOSTOLATUM A DEO SORTITUS EST  
 IN CUJUS PORTÆ ADVERSUS IMPERIUM NON PREVALENT

DOMINUS ILLUM ELEGIT UT DOCERET BARBARAS  
 NATIONES UT PISCARET PER DOCTRINÆ RETIA  
 UT DE SECULO CREDENTES TRAHERET AD GRATIAM 15  
 DOMINIUMQUE SEQUERENTUR SEDEM AD ÆTHERIAM

GLOSS. H.—9. *Constans*.—i. est vel fuit. 16. *Sequerentur*.—i. doctrina.

GLOSS. B.—9. *Constans*.—i. fuit. *Fide*.—i. Trinitatis, ut dicit Paulus, fratres stabiles estote, et rl. 10. *Quem*.—i. Petrum. *Petrus*.—Ut dicitur, tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram edificabo ecclesiam meam. Petrus agnoscens interpretatur, quicumque ergo in regnum celeste intrare desiderat, agnoscat Deum per fidem, ut Petrus. 13. *Illum*.—i. Patricium. *Barbaras*.—i. alienas interpretantur, quia sint alieni a Romana lingua. 14. *Piscaret*.—i. pisco, secundum veteres: pisco, piscaris, est hodie. 15. *Gratiam*.—i. ad fidem, vel celestium. 16. *Ad ætheriam*.—i. ad celestem sedem.

which, however, is so obliterated, as to be now illegible.

5. *Beata*.—Beati, V.

8. *Magnificent*.—Magnificat Deum, C.: Magnificat Deum, V. *Magnificent* is probably the true reading, if there be an allusion to Matt. v. 16, where the older Latin versions appear to have read *magnificent* for *glorificent*, and the passage is so quoted by many of the Fathers [see Sabatier, *in loc.*] "He [Patrick] keeps the blessed commands of Christ in all things. His good works shine illustrious amongst men. They [men] follow his holy and wonderful example, and thus magnify as their Lord the Father who is in heaven." The gloss over *magnificent* in H. was a long one, running down the margin, but it is now so effaced that the three words above given are all that are now legible.

9. *Timore*.—Amore, C.

10. *Quem*.—Quæ, M. *Petrus*.—Petrum, C. M. V. W. With the reading *Petrus* the meaning will be, "upon whom, as a second Peter, the Church is built;" or, "as it is upon Peter," if we read *Petrum*. The interpretation, "*Petrus, agnoscens*," in the Gloss B., is from St. Jerome (*De nominibus Hebraicis*). 11. *Cujusque*.—Scil. Ecclesiæ.

12. *Cujus*.—Quem, C. *Portæ*.—Porta, W. V. *Adversus*.—Adversum, M. The word *adversus* must here be taken as a substantive for *adversitates*, and *cujus* must be referred to *ecclesia* as its antecedent. "The Church, whose apostleship Patrick has received from God, to whose damage or injury the gates of hell prevail not."

14. *Ut piscaret*.—Et piscaret, M. *Ut piscaretur*, C. V., which would destroy

**E**lecta christi talenta uendit euangelica  
 quae hibernas inter gentes cum usuris exigit  
 nauigii huius laboris tum operae pretium  
 cum christo regni celestis possessurus gaudium

20

**F**idelis dei minister insignisque nuntius  
 apostolicum exemplum formamque praebet bonis  
 qui tam uerbis quam et factis plebi praedicat dei  
 ut quem dictis non conuertit actu prouocet bono

Gloss. B.—17. *Talenta*.—i. mandata. 19. *Nauigii*.—i. in impuma ra na heclari [viz. of the navigation of the Church]. 20. *Cum Christo*.—Sicut dominus ait in evangelio, ubi corpus fuerit illic congregabuntur aquile, ac si diceret aperte, ubi fuerit Christus secundum carnem, ibi erunt iusti, et sic cum ipse [*leg. ipso*] erunt in celo semper. 22. *Præbet bonis*.—i. pprecept 7 porcetul [by precept and teaching]. 24. *Dictis*.—i. o pprecept [by precept]. *Prouocet*.—i. ad fidem. *Bono*.—i. suo.

the rhythm. The allusion is evidently to Matt. iv. 19; Mark, i. 17: "The Lord hath chosen him to teach barbarous nations; to fish with the nets of doctrine, so as to draw from the world unto grace those who shall follow the Lord, &c."

15. *Ut*.—Et, M.

16. *Dominumque*.—Dominum qui, M. This reading is an evident improvement to the sense.

18. *Hibernas*.—Euernas, B.; Ibernas, V. *Usuris*.—Usura, W.

19. *Nauigii*.—Nauigiis, M.; Navigi, B. On this word B. has the following marginal note: Ipe in muip in bith ppec-naipc. Ipi in noei in eclair. Ipe in luamaip porcetlaib dop beip do pupet beclad. Ipe in popet beclad uita pepetua. "The sea is the present world. The ship is the Church. The pilot is the preacher, who brings her to the port of life. The port is the life that is perpetual."

The construction of vv. 19, 20, is very difficult and obscure; *tum* seems used for *et*. It is probable that there is some corruption in this stanza, which the MSS. do not enable us to correct. *Tum*.—Dominum, C. This reading makes no sense, and is inconsistent with the rhythm; the copyist seems to have mistaken *tum* for *domin*.

20. *Possessurus*.—Possedit, C. V. The allusion in this distich is evidently to the parable of the talents: "He sells [or trades with] the chosen talents of Christ mentioned in the Gospel, which he exacts with usury [spiritual usury] amongst the Irish clans; and, as the reward of this voyage, as well as of his work or labour, he will hereafter possess, with Christ, the joy of the kingdom of heaven."

22. *Apostolicum*.—Apostolium, V. *Præbet bonis*.—C. omits *præbet*; V. omits *bonis*.

23. *Et*.—Omit, W. V. *Plebi*.—Omit, C. *Dei*.—Dominum, W. V.



**G**loriam habet cum christo honorem in seculo  
qui ab omnibus ut dei ueneratur angelus 25

quem deus misit ut paulum ad gentes apostolum  
ut hominibus ducatum praeberet regno dei

**h**umilis dei ob metum spiritu et corpore  
super quem bonum ob actum requiescit dominus 30

cuiusque iusta in carne christi portat stigmata  
in cuius sola sustentans gloriatur in cruce

GLOSS. H.—25. *Habet*.—i. Patricius. *Seculo*.—i. hoc. 26. *Omnibus*.—i. hominibus. 27. *Ut Paulum*.—i. sicut Paulus misus est ad gentes, ita Patricius ad gentes Scotorum misus est. 29. *Humilis*.—i. fuit. *Ob metum*.—i. prae timore. 31. *Cujusque*.—i. Christi. *Stigmata*.—i. na minna, i. virtutem sic . . . . . onis et . . . . . Paulus, Christi porto stigmata et vulnera domini nostri sicque compono . . . . . 32. *Sustentans*.—i. ap polom̃.

GLOSS. B.—25. *Seculo*.—i. hoc. 27. *Quem Deus*.—i. sicut Deus misit Paulum ad gentes, ita Patricium Scotis. 29. *Ob metum*.—i. prae timore. 31. *Cujusque*.—i. Patricii, vel Christi. 32. *In cruce*.—i. hi croich na poeaidhe [in the cross of contempt].

24. *Actu*.—Fructu, M.

26. *Omnibus*.—Hominibus, B.

27. *Ut*.—Omit, B.

28. *Hominibus*.—Omnibus, V. *Ducatum*.—B. has the following note on this word: .i. a uerbo dūco, duxi, dux, ducir, ⁊ ip̃ r̃eo co ñdene dūco, ducar, ducatur ap ngabail chepta. Ducatur dan ann tpen p̃p̃deib̃l pangabap p̃p̃ .m̃. m̃ull, ⁊ ipe p̃in p̃il p̃uno. "From the verb *duco*, *ducis*, comes *dux*, *ducis*, and in like manner *duco*, *ducas*, produces *ducatus*, in a passive signification. *Ducatus*, therefore, is a noun substantive, after the form which is found in the fourth declension; and this is the word that occurs here." Du Cange (Glossar. *Ducatus*, 5) shows that the word has been used in the sense of *safe conduct*, *guidance*, which is evidently its meaning in the text.

30. *Requiescit*.—Requiescet, B.

31. *Iusta*.—Juxta, C.; sua, W. The allusion here is to Gal. vi. 17. If we refer *cujusque* to Christ, as the gloss suggests, there is an apparent tautology, and the preposition *in* is needlessly repeated in ver. 32. The meaning seems to be, that Patrick, "in his righteous flesh, bears the marks of Christ, and whilst bearing his own cross, glories only in the cross of Christ." The gloss in H. is but partly legible.

32. *Sustentans*.—Sustentante, C.V. *Sustendans*, B. The gloss in H. is ap polom̃, enduring, sustaining. It will be understood that where the gloss is in Irish, without being followed by any English translation, the Irish is a literal translation of the Latin. *In cruce*.—Cruce, C.V. Here *in* is necessary to the metre. If the

**I**mpiger credentes pascit dapibus celestibus  
ne qui videntur cum christo in via deficiant

quibus erogat ut panes verba evangelica  
in cuius multiplicantur ut manna in manibus

**K**astam qui custodit carnem ob amorem domini  
quam carnem templum paravit sanctoque spiritui

a quo constanter cum mundis possidetur actibus  
quam ut hostiam placentem vivam offert domino

Gloss. H.—33. *Dapibus*.—i. predicationis. 36. *Manna*.—i. ap. πορπαταίε [increasing, growing]. 39. *Constanter*.—[Quia] non discedit ab illo Spiritu. 40. *Quam*.—i. carnem. *Offert*.—i. in virtutibus, in castitate et veritate, et esse absque morte peccati.

Gloss. B.—33. *Impiger*.—i. επειρῶν. *Dapibus*.—i. predicationibus. 34. *Videntur*.—i. immuni-  
τεπαρ Cπιορ [in Christ's favour, or friendship]. *In via*.—i. in fide. 36. *In cuius*.—Sine sensu in  
est hic. *Manna*.—i. Manna ebraice; quid est hoc latine dicitur. 37. *Qui*.—i. Patricius. *Ob*.—i. ap.  
38. *Sanctoque*.—Supervacuum est que hic. *A quo*.—i. Spiritu. 39. *Constanter*.—Quia non discedit ab  
illo Spiritu. 40. *Quam*.—i. carnem. *Placentem*.—i. Deo non hominibus. *Vivam*.—i. virtutibus. *Offert*.  
—i. in castitate et veritate, et esse absque morte peccati.

in before *cujus* in this line be omitted,  
*cuius* must be read as a trissyllable.

34. *Videntur*.—Ridentur, W. An evi-  
dent mistake. *Deficient*.—Deficient, B.  
The allusion is to Matt. xv. 32.

35. *Ut*.—Omit, C. V.

36. *In cuius*.—W. and V. omit *in*, which  
would require that *cuius* should be read  
as a trissyllable. *Manna*.—The Irish  
gloss in H. over this word appears to have  
been intended for the word *multiplicantur*.  
There is a double reference both to our  
Lord's miracle and also to the manna in  
the wilderness,—“Full of zeal, he feeds  
the faithful with celestial repasts; lest  
those who are seen with Christ should  
faint by the way. To whom he gives as  
loaves the words of the Gospel, which are  
multiplied in their hands like the manna.”

—See Exod. xvi. 18.

37. *Kastam qui*.—Castum qui, B. Cas-  
tamque, C. The *Liber Hymnorum* has the  
following note written as a gloss over this  
line, and continued down the margin :—  
“Ut dicit apostolus, unusquisque suum  
corpus servando castum Deo sanctificet et  
honoret . . .” The remainder is illegible.  
The allusion is to 1 Thess. iv. 4.

38. *Sanctoque*.—The gloss B. asserts  
that the *que* is here superfluous; but it  
is necessary for the metre. The construc-  
tion is, no doubt, very rude, but the  
meaning seems to be, “which flesh he  
hath also prepared as a temple for the  
Holy Ghost;” or, “[for Christ] and for  
the Holy Ghost.”

40. *Ut*.—Et, M. B. *Ut*, however, is  
evidently the true reading.

Lumenque mundi accensum ingens euangelicum  
 in candelabro leuatum toti pulgens seculo  
 ciuitas regis munita supra montem posita  
 copia in qua est multa quam dominus possidet

maximus namque in regno celorum uocabitur 45  
 qui quod uerbis docet sacris pactis adimplet bonis  
 bono precedit exemplo formamque fidelium  
 mundoque in corde habet ad deum fiduciam

GLOSS. H.—41. *Lumenque*.—Lux sapientiæ orta mundo. 42. *Candelabro*.—Candelabrum, quasi f[erens] candelam, vel labrum candelæ. *Toti*.—Vel toto, inter veteres. 43. *Ciuitas*.—i. ecclesia sancta. *Regis*.—i. Christi. *Munita*.—i. virtutibus. 45. *Maximus*.—i. valde magnus, vel de suo genere, i. honorabilis. *Celorum*.—i. in ecclesia sancta. 46. *Adimplet*.—i. implebat actu quicquid sermone docebat. 48. *Mundoque*.—Ut dicitur beati mundi corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt.

GLOSS. B.—41. *Lumenque*.—Isidorus dicit. Lux ipsa substantia est, lumen quod a luce manet, i. candor. 42. *Candelabro*.—i. candelabrum, secundum Isidorum, quasi labrum candelæ. *Toti*.—Vel toto inter veteres. 43. *Ciuitas*.—i. est. *Regis*.—i. Patricii. *Montem*.—i. mons fructuosus est Christus. 44. *Copia*.—i. virtutum. *In qua*.—i. ciuitate. 45. *Maximus*.—i. peroptimus, vel permagnus, vel maximus sui generis. 46. *Adimplet*.—i. in te rem ut Grigorio dictum est [the same thing that is said of Gregory], implebat actu quicquid sermone docebat; sic Patricio contingit. 48. *Mundoque*.—i. in ipso corde gloriari [in the pure heart].

41. *Lumenque*.—The gloss B. quotes Isidore of Seville: *Etymol.* lib. xiii. c. 10. "Lux, ipsa substantia: lumen, quod a luce manat, i. e. candor lucis. Sed hoc confundunt auctores." In the margin of B. there is this note:—" *Lumenque*, i. lumen sapientiæ elevavit mundo; ut dicitur in euangelio, nemo accendit lucernam nisi ponat eam super candelabrum, ut luceat omnibus, qui in domu sunt, nisi filius dei qui est Jesus Christus."

42. *Candelabro*.—Isidore is here again quoted in the gloss B., but not exactly. His words are:—"Candelabrum a candelis dictum, quasi candelasferum, quod candelam ferat." *Etymol.* lib. xx. c. 10. *Toti*.—Toto, M. The gloss seems to re-

cognise this as the older reading.

43. *Ciuitas*.—The author of the gloss in H. has mistaken the meaning of this passage. Patrick, not the Church, is here compared to "a fortified city of a king, set upon a hill, wherein is great abundance, whereof the Lord is owner."

44. *Est*.—Et, C. *Dominus*.—Deus, W.V. Inconsistent with the metre. As the text stands, the accent is on the second syllable of *Dominus*.

45. *Namque*.—Namque, C. M. W.; quoque, V.

46. *Adimplet*.—The gloss in H., as also that in B., cite a line from the epitaph on S. Gregory's tomb, as given by Bede (*Hist. Eccl.* lib. ii. c. 1), and by Joannes

**N**OMEN DOMINI AUDENTER ANNUNCIAT GENTIBUS  
quibus LAVACRI salutis aeternam DAT GRATIAM

50

pro quorum ORAT delictis ad Deum QUOTIDIE  
pro quibus ut Deo dignas IMMOLATQUE hostias

**O**mnem pro divina LEGE mundi SPERNIT GLORIAM  
que cuncta ad cuius mensam ESTIMAT CISCILIA

NEC INGRUENTI MOUETUR mundi huius pulmine  
sed in adversis LAETATUR cum pro CHRISTO PATITUR

55

GLOSS. II.—52. *Hostias*.—i. spirituales. 54. *Que*.—vel qui. *Cuncta*.—i. munera. *Mensam*.—i. docthomur [by measurement].

GLOSS. B.—49. *Audenter*.—i. co dāna [boldly]. 50. *Lavacri*.—i. baltismi, baltisma græce; tinctio latine dicitur; in qua tinctione omnes sordes, tum actuales, tum originales, lavantur. 51. *Quorum*.—i. gentium. 52. *Hostias*.—i. ut dicitur, Christus hostia et sacerdos; hostia secundum carnem, sacerdos secundum spiritum; offerebatur secundum carnem. 54. *Cuncta*.—i. munera. *Ad cuius*.—i. legis. *Ciscilia*.—Ambrosius dicit, supercilium, i. super habundantia. Cilon verbum Græcum quod interpretatur habundantia. 55. *Ingruenti*.—i. on τῖαιθεν ποῖραχ no ποτπομδα [by noisy or heavy thunder]. 56. *In adversis*.—i. in tribulationibus. *Laetatur*.—i. qui. *Patitur*.—i. hic est qui patitur pro Christo, qui abnegat semetipsum et tollit crucem suam cotidie.

Diaconus (*Vit. S. Greg.* lib. iv. c. 68):

“Implebatque actu, quicquid sermone docebat,  
Esset ut exemplum, mystica verba loquens.”

47. *Precedit*.—Procedit, C. *Formam-que*.—Formaque, C. V.

48. *Deum*.—Dominum, C.

49. *Nomen Domini*.—Nomenque Dei, M. *Annuntiat*.—Adnuntiat, M.

50. *Lavacri*.—Lavacris, M.

51. *Quorum*.—Quarum, W. V. B. *Delictis*.—Dilictis, B. *Deum*.—Dominum, C. *Quotidie*.—Om. V. Cotidie, B. M.

52. *Immolatque*.—Ymolatque, B. In this passage *ut* and *que* seem both redundant, yet both are required by the metre.

54. *Que*.—Qui, M. W. V. *Cujus*.—Ejus, W. V. Christi, C. *Mensam*.—The Irish gloss in H. seems to mean that this word

ought to be taken in the sense of *mensuram*: “He despises all the glory of the world, for the sake of the divine law; in comparison of which he also estimates all things as chaff.” But perhaps we ought to read,—“Cuncta ad cuius mensuram,” omitting “que.” *Ciscilia*.—Quisquilia, C. V. Quisquilia, M. W. I have not been able to verify the reference to “Ambrosius” in the gloss B. On the left-hand margin of H. is this note: “Ciscilia est, ut dicit Hieronymus in tractatu Isaïæ profetæ, Ciscilia sunt purgamenta frumenti, .i. cáit [chaff]; ut Isidorus dicit, Cisciliæ sunt stipulæ inmixtæ surculis et foliis aridis, sunt autem purgamenta terrarum quod est verius.” I cannot find the passage here quoted in the Commentary of St. Je-



**P**ASTOR bonus ac fidelis gregis euangelici  
quem deus dei elegit custodire populum  
suamque pascere plebem diuinis dogmatibus  
pro qua ad christi exemplum suam tradidit animam 63

**Q**uem pro meritis saluator prouexit pontificem  
ut in celesti moneret clericos militia  
celestem quibus annonam erogat cum uestibus  
quod in diuinis impletur sacrisque apparatus

GLOSS. II.—63. *Annonam*.—i. lon [provision] .i. ab hora nona dicta. 64. *Affatibus*.—i. for, faris, . . . .i. preceptis dei.

GLOSS. B.—57. *Pastor bonus*.—i. pastor bonus est qui est secundum Christum, qui dixit, Ego sum pastor bonus, qui pono animam meam pro ovibus meis. 59. *Pascere*.—i. no pappad [or satiate (with food)]. *Dogmatibus*.—Dogma, .i. preceptum. 60. *Qua*.—i. plebe, .i. sicut dicit apostolus, utinam anathema essem pro fratribus meis. 62. *Clericos*.—i. sortiales. 63. *Annonam*.—i. loon [provision]. 64. *Affatibus*.—i. for, faris, fatus; affor, affaris, affatus.

rome on Isaiah, but in his Commentary on Amos, viii. 6, he has the words, "Quisquilias et purgamenta frumenti venditis pauperibus." The other quotation is from Isidorus Hispalensis (*Orig.* xvii. c. 6):—"Quisquilie stipule immixte surculis et foliis aridis. Sunt autem purgamenta terrarum." In the right-hand margin of H. there is this note:—Cipeilum. i. bpoth uel bpothpeoa .i. ppe do cuipio mo aippe do elum [cipe]. No cipcannan .i. caeizg Copmaic hui Cumn. Cannan nomen eiur, 7 ip de po [cum]daiged .i. om.cileap no bre dap tauip in mil po [mapb]tha ant. No cipeilum .i. bpaie .i. cilium ciuap in bpaie. Cipeilum in [pinna] glenap fap. 7 bpuip, 7 quod nepiur epe. 7 om cipeb oib peim [he] in mipe la Patraic in comparatione omne legip. "*Ciscilium*, .i. bpoth, a

particle, or bpothpeoa, i. e. the rubbish which the sea casts on the shore. Or *Ciscannan*, i. e. the winnowing sheet of Cormac, grandson of Conn. *Cannan* was its name, and it was made of the *cileas* [long coarse hair] which grew on the bellies of the animals that were killed there. Or *Ciscilium*, i. e. eyelid; i. e. *Cilium* is the edge of the eyelid; *Ciscilium*, the hair that adheres to it and breaks it: and this is more true. But whichever of these it may be, it does not matter for Patrick, in comparison of the divine law." The Cormac mentioned in this curious note is the celebrated Cormac Mac Art, King of Ireland, who died A. D. 266, according to the chronology of the Four Masters.

55. *Fulmine*.—Flumine, W. V.

56. *Cum*.—The gloss over *latatur* in B. was, perhaps, intended to have been over

**R**EGIS NUNTIVS INVITANS CREDENTES AD NUPTIAS  
 QUI ORNATUR VESTIMENTO NUPTIALE INDUTUS  
 QUI CELESTE AURIT VINUM IN VASIS CELESTIBUS  
 PROPINANSQUE DEI PLEBEM SPIRITUALI POCULO

65

**S**ACRUM INVENIT TESAVRUM SACRO IN VOLUMINE  
 SALVATORISQUE IN CARNE DIETATEM PREVIDIT  
 QUEM TESAVRUM EMIT SANCTIS PERFECTISQUE MERITIS  
 ISRAEL VOCATUR HUIUS ANIMA VIDENS DEUM

70

Gloss. H.—65. *Nuptias*.—i. regni celestis. 67. *In vasis*.—i. in sanctis. 68. *Propinansque*.—i. an do baileb [what was distributed]. *Spirituali*.—i. doctrina. 69. *Sacrum*.—i. Deum. *Tesaurum*.—i. Christum. *Volumine*.—i. in evangelio. 70. *Dietatem*.—i. quia credidit Christum filium Dei esse secundum divinitatem. 71. *Meritis*.—i. jejuniis et oratione et elemosina et predicatione Domini. 72. *Israel*.—i. vir mente videns Deum.

Gloss. B.—65. *Nuptias*.—id est, regni celestis, ut dicitur, vos similes estote hominibus expectantibus dominum suum quando revertatur ad nuptias, ut cum venerit et pulsaverit, statim aperiant ei. 67. *Vinum*.—i. vinum doctrine evangelii. *In vasis*.—i. in sanctis. 68. *Propinansque*.—i. an do baileb [what was distributed] propino per unum .n. scribitur, ut Eotiscus dicit. 69. *Tesaurum*.—i. Christum, vel primum, vel misterium evangelii. *Volumine*.—i. in scriptura divina, vel in evangelio. 70. *Dietatem*.—i. quia credidit Christum filium Dei esse secundum divinitatem. 71. *Tesaurum*.—i. regnum celeste.

*cum*, indicating another reading, "Qui pro Christo," for "Cum pro Christo."

57. *Ac*.—Et, M. *Evangelici*.—Evangelicæ, B.

60. *Tradidit*.—Tradit, M. This reading is necessary for the metre, and more consistent with the style of the writer, who puts all the acts of Patrick in the present tense.

62. *Militia*.—Militiæ, C., which is probably a mistake of the press. The word *militia* was frequently used for office, dignity, ministry.—See Du Cange in v. *Miles*.

65. *Nuptias*.—This is an evident allusion to the parable of the Marriage Feast, in Matt. xxii.; but the gloss in B. seems to understand it as referring to Luke, xii. 36.

66. *Nuptiale*.—Nuptiali, M. W. C. B. V.

67. *Aurit*.—Haurit, M. C. W. V. *Vinum*.—In the margin of B. there is the following note on this word:—"Beda dicit, *Bria* vas vinarium est; unde ebrius est qui de bria bibit, sobrius e contrario dicitur, qui quasi sibrius, i. sine bria, i. sine vino." I have not been able to find this passage in the printed works of Bede.

68. *Propinans*.—The gloss on this word in B. quotes "Eotiscus," that is, I presume, Eutyches or Eutychus, the grammarian; but in his work *De discernendis conjugationibus*, as edited by Putschius, I do not find the words here quoted. *Spirituali poculo*.—Spiritalis poculum, M. Spirituali poculo, W. V.

70. *Dietatem*.—Pietatem, C. Deitatem, M. W. V. This last is evidently the true

TESTIS DOMINI FIDELIS IN LEGE CATHOLICA  
 CUIUS VERBA SUNT DIVINI CONDITA ORACULIS  
 NE HUMANE PUTRENT CARNESSÆQUE A VERMIBUS 75  
 SED CELESTE SALLIUNTUR Sapore AD VICTIMAM

VERUS CULTOR ET INSIGNIS AGRI EUANGELICI  
 CUIUS SEMINA VIDENTUR CHRISTI EUANGELICA  
 QUAE DIVINO SERIT ORE IN AURES PRUDENTIUM  
 QUORUMQUE CORDA AC MENTES SANCTO ARAT SPIRITU 80

Gloss. H.—74. *Condita*.—i. pailti [salted] a verbo quod est condio, condis, iiii. conjug. 75. *Essæque*.—i. enairhe [eaten, gnawed] a verbo quod est edo, edor, essus essa, essum, participii passivi. *Vermibus*.—i. scientiæ. 77. *Agri*.—i. cordis. 80. *Arat*.—i. aipud.

Gloss. B.—73. *Testis*.—i. est. *Fidelis*.—i. tairipe [faithful]. *Catholica*.—i. universalis interpretatur. 74. *Condita*.—i. pailte [salted], a verbo condio, condis, pop. im. choibne [of the fourth conjugation]. 75. *Putrent*.—i. a verbo putro, pop. cet choibne [of the first conjugation]. 76. *Celeste*.—i. doctrina Dei. *Sapores*.—i. corporis et anime. 77. *Verus*.—i. est Patricius. *Agri*.—i. ager est corpora fidelium. 78. *Semina*.—i. semen est precepta evangelii. 79. *Prudentium*.—i. prudentia quasi providentia.

reading. *Prævidit*.—Pervidit, C. Pervidet, M.

72. *Israel*.—Israhel, M. Hisrahel, B. *Injus*.—Ejus, B. *Anima*.—St. Jérôme, in the book *De interpretatione nominum Hebraicorum* (if it be his), explains the name *Israel*,—"Vir, aut mens, videns Deum," as if it had been in the Hebrew—

אִשְׂרָאֵל רָאָה אֵל

But he afterwards retracts this, and gives the true meaning, "princeps cum Deo." (*Quest. Hebr. in Gen. xxxii. 27, 28.*) In the Greek interpretations of Hebrew names, published by Vallarsius (*Opp. S. Hieron.* tom. iii. part 2), some of which are attributed to Origen, *Israel* is explained νοὺς ὁπᾶν Θεόν. There is the following note in B. over this word:—Ippael mōapa tan ip depillaebach, et vir pugnans cum Deo interpr. in tan ele

ip tpe pillæbach, 7 ip uir videns deum interpr. "Israel is sometimes a dissyllable, and signifies *vir pugnans cum Deo*; another time it is a trisyllable, and signifies *vir videns Deum*."

74. *Condita*.—Candida, M.

75. *Putrent*.—Putant, M. *Essæque*.—Esæque, C. Escaque, W. V. Aesseque, M. In B. there is the following note on this word:—i. essus, a verbo edo, et edor, a cépta; essum et essus ap angatbaill chepta; poðlap cennul mti i. essus, essa, essum. "*Essus* is from the verb *edo* and *edor*, in the passive. *Essum* and *essus* the passive participle. The genders change in it thus, *essus*, *essa*, *essum*."

76. *Celeste*.—Coelesti, M. W. V. *Salliuntur*.—Alleantur, M. Salientur, C. Sallientur, W. V. The allusion is evidently to Matt. v. 13. *Ad victimam*.—In

Χρ̃ς illum sibi legit in terris vicarium  
qui de gemino captivos liberat servitio

plerosque de servitute quos redemit hominum  
innumeros de Zabuli obsoluet dominio

GLOSS. H.—81. *Ilum*.—i. Patricium. *Legit*.—i. elegit. *In terris*.—i. in ecclesiis. 82. *De gemino*.—i. diaboli et malorum hominum. 84. *Zabuli*.—i. Diabuli.

GLOSS. B.—81. *Christus*.—i. Christus, Græce; Misias, Hebraice; Unctus, Latine, dicitur. 84. *Zabuli*.—i. zabulus, de consiliariis interpretatur. *Obsoluet*.—i. comdenmach [protecting].

order that they may prove an acceptable offering. Cf. Mark, ix. 49, 50.

78. *Evangelia*.—Evangelii, C.

79. *Divino*.—Divina, B.

80. *Quorumque*.—Quorum quoque, M.

81. *Legit*.—Elegit, M. W. V. *Vicarium*.

—In H. there is the following note on this word:—.i. pẽctaire, no toibgeoir, no com̃arba, ap ip̃ed abeir Cirine in ep̃istola de gradibur romanorum, com̃ he uicariur p̃er b̃ir d̃ar ep̃ri com̃it̃ur p̃op in cathraig cen co ti in com̃it̃ . . . ge [forte leg. com̃er cum pege]; uicariur dei ep̃pom: “i.e. *vicarius* means a tax gatherer; or a governor; or a successor [of one in authority]; for it is so Cirine [St. Jerome] says in *Epistola de gradibus Romanorum*, that the *vicarius* is a man who is over the city in the absence of the *comes*, whilst the *comes* goes with the king. In like manner he [Patrick] is *vicarius Dei*.”

I have not been able to discover the epistle *de gradibus Romanorum* here quoted under the name of St. Jerome. It is evidently some spurious work of an age much later than Jerome's time. Du Cange *in voce* says,—“*Vicarius* sequioribus sæculis [sc. post Caroli M. tempora]

dictus est, qui vice Comit̃is, aut alterius judicis partes exequitur in pagis, vel minoribus oppidis; Gallis *Viguer*.”

In B. we have a similar note:—.i. com̃arba quod h̃ip. dicit̃ in ep̃istola de gradibur romanorum, com̃ he uicariur in p̃er b̃ir d̃ar æp̃ri com̃bit̃ur p̃op rin cathraig c̃in [co ti] com̃er a pege[?]. Ipe in p̃ex .i. deur. Ipe com̃er. .i. xpp̃. Ipe uicariur, .i. Patriciur. Uio uicur .i. p̃ich uici. ⁊ ina com̃dene uicariur: “i.e. a successor, quod Hieronymus dicit̃ in *epistola de gradibus Romanorum*, that *vicarius* is the man who is instead of the *comes* over the city until the *comes* returns from the king [?]. Thus [in the figurative language of the hymn], the king is God; the *comes* is Christ; the *vicarius* is Patrick. There is a word, *vicus*, i. e. p̃ich uici, the land of the village, and from it *vicarius* may be derived.”

82. *Qui*.—Quem, C. V. *Captivos*.—Captivum, C. V.

84. *Zabuli*.—Stabuli, W. Du Cange *in voce* cites numerous authorities for the use of *zabulus* for *diabolus*, to which add the Alphabetical Hymn of St. Isidore of Seville (*Opp.* p. 239). *Zabulus* occurs in Lactantius, *De mort. persecutorum*, c. xvi.



Σμνος cum apocalypsi psalmosque cantat dei  
 quosque ad edificandum dei tractat populum  
 quam legem in trinitate sacri credit nominis  
 tribusque personis unam docetque substantiam

85

Gloss. H.—86. *Tractat.*—i. i. mluadib. 87. *Quam legem.*—i. i. mon ni éreper legem sacri nominis, quod est trinitas [a great thing, that he believes the law of the sacred Name, which is the Trinity]. 88. *Docetque.*—Supervacua est que hic.

Gloss. B.—85. *Ymnos.*—i. i. laudes. 86. *Tractat.*—i. i. mluadib palmum ꝥ smnum ꝥ abcolypꝥ no chumtach popuitꝥ. 87. *Quam legem.*—i. i. mon ni éreper legem sacri nominis quod est trinitas. 88. *Docetque.*—Supervacua est que hic.

The gloss in B. appears to derive *diabolus* from *diab* and *βουλῆ*; or, perhaps, the meaning is, that *diabolus* is here to be understood of evil counsellors. *Obsolvit.*—Obsolvit, B. W. Absolvit, M. C. V.

86. *Tractat.*—The Gloss. H. explains this word by the Irish mluadib, “he puts in motion, announces, publishes;” and the Gloss B., using the same word, says,—“He publishes the Psalm, and Hymn, and Apocalypse, to build up the people of God.” The words popuitꝥ are very obscure, but I take them to mean populi trine, “the people of the Trinity,” or “the people of God,” as in the Latin. *Tractare* signifies “conciocinari, exponere, explicare disserendo” (Du Cange, Gloss. *Tractare*, 2); and *Tractator* “qui de rebus seriis docte et erudite tractat, scribit, loquitur, disputat.” “Tractatores dicti præsertim librorum sacrorum interpretes, qui de rebus sacris tractant.” (Du Cange, in v.)

87. *Quam.*—Quem, V. C.

88. *Tribusque.*—Tribuque, B.

89. *Et.*—Ac. B.

90. *Sine intermissione.*—Over this word

we find the following note in H.,—“Augustinus dicit, si quis in unaquaque hora certa tempora orandi observat sine intermissione orat. i. celebrat cœli tracta [celebrates at all the [canonical] hours]. And in B.,—“Augustinus dicit, si in unaquaque die certa tempora celebrationis observaverit, sine intermissione orat.” The passage of St. Augustine here referred to is probably the following,—*De Hæres.* n. 57 (ed. Bened. t. viii. col. 19). where, speaking of the Eucharist or Massalians, he says,—“Nam cum Dominus dixerit *Oportet semper orare, et non deficere*; et apostolus *Sine intermissione orate*, quod sanissime sic accipitur, ut nullo die intermittantur certa tempora orandi; &c.”

91. *Percepturus.*—Præcepturus, W. *Premium.*—Præmia, C.

92. *Regnabit.*—Regnavit, B. In B. there is the following note over this word:—“i. regnabit Patricius super Scotos in die iudicii; ut dicitur Apostolis, sedebitis et vos super .xii. sedes, iudicantes .xii. tribus Israel.” This is an allusion to the privilege granted to S. Patrick of being himself the Judge of the Irish people, in

ZONA DOMINI PRECINCTUS DIEBUS ET NOCTIBUS  
 SINE INTERMISSIONE DEUM ORAT DOMINUM  
 cuius INGENTIS LABORIS PERCEPTURUS PREMIUM  
 cum APOSTOLIS REGNABIT SANCTUS SUPER ISRAEL  
 AUDITE OMNES

in memoria eterna erit iustus  
 ab auditione mala non timebit.

patricii laudes semper dicamur  
 ut nos cum illo debeat deus.

hibernenses omnes clamant ad te pueri  
 ueni sancte patricii pascor nos facere.

GLOSS. H.—89. *Zona*.—i. castitate. *Diebus*.—i. in prosperis. *Noctibus*.—i. in adversis. 92. *Super Israel*.—i. super animas videntes Deum.

GLOSS. B.—89. *Zona*.—i. castitate. *Precinctus*.—i. inthimcelta [surrounded].

the Day of Judgment:—Thus the angel who appeared to him in the bush, and announced to him, “datae sunt tibi petitiones quas petisti,” adds “Quarta petitio est, ut Hibernienses omnes in die iudicii a te iudicentur, ut videlicet eos quibus Apostolus fuisti, iudices; sicut dictum est a Domino ad Apostolos; sedebitis super sedes duodecim, iudicantes duodecim tribus Israel.”—*Vit. S. Patr. auctore Probo*, lib. ii. c. 33. The author of the Hymn, however, knew nothing of this legend; he says merely that Patrick, “as the reward of his great labour, shall reign with the Apostles a saint over Israel.” *Sanctus*.—Sanctis, W. V. *Israel*.—Israhel, M.

*Audite omnes*.—Audite et rl., B. These are the words with which the Hymn begins, and are added here according to the usual practice in all collections of Irish poems, to mark the end of the Hymn, and to show that the verses that follow are no part of it.

*In memoria eterna*.—The three foregoing verses or antiphons, although written by the original scribe of the *Liber Hymnorum*, and at the same time as the rest of the Hymn, are not in the round capital letters of the text, but in an angular character, which occurs repeatedly throughout the volume, and which we have endeavoured to represent by a dif-

ference of type. The first of these antiphons is from Ps. cxi. 7; and the last is taken from the story told by the biographers of St. Patrick, of his having heard, when in Britain (or, according to others, at Rome), the voice of Irish children, crying "Veni sancte puer Patricii, et inter nos ambula." See *Vit. Tripart.*, part i. c. 30; *Jocel.* c. 20; and Fiech's Hymn, where the scholiast, as printed by Colgan (*Tr. Th.* p. 5), has this note:—"Ipse Celestinus, quando ordinabatur Patricius, audiebat vocem infantium eum advocantium. Infantes autem de quibus hic sermo est, vocabantur Crebrea et Lessa [called Lassara, *Vit. Trip.* ii. 86] duæ filiæ Gleranni filii [Cumi]nenii; et hodie coluntur ut sanctæ, et ab ipso Patricio erant baptizatæ: et in Ecclesia de Forcland juxta Muadium fluvium ad occidentem, requiescunt. Quæ autem tunc in ventre matris existentes dicebant erant hæc, *Hibernenses omnes clamant ad te.* Et hæc sæpius ab eis decantata audiebantur per Hiberniam totam, vel usque ad ipsos Romanos."

These antiphons are doubtless a portion of some ancient office of St. Patrick; but they vary considerably in the MSS.

and editions of this Hymn. In the *Antiph. Benchorensē*, they are given thus:

"Patricius episcopus, oret pro nobis omnibus.  
Ut deleantur protinus, peccata que commisimus.  
Patricii laudes semper dicamus,  
Ut nos cum illo semper vivamus."

In the *Leabhar Breac* the first two only are given, as in the text, that beginning *Hibernenses omnes* being omitted; and the word "Op." i. e. *Oratio*, or *Oremus*, being inserted before *In memoria eterna*.

In Colgan's edition they are given thus:—

"Patricii laudes semper dicam [*read dicamus*]  
Ut nos cum illo defendat Deus.

Hibernenses omnes clamant ad te pueri,  
Veni Sancte Patrici, salvos nos facere.

Patricius sanctus episcopus oret pro nobis omnibus.  
Ut deleantur protinus peccata que commisimus."

Ware's copy does not appear to have had them at all, or at least he does not give them.

In H. there is the following gloss:—

*Justus.*—i. Patricius, vel unusquisque.

*Ab auditione mala.*—i. Ite maledicti in ignem eternum.

*Ut nos cum illo.*—i. Hibernenses.

## ADDITIONAL NOTES.

### NOTE A.

#### *The historical Preface to the Hymn.*

THE copy of this Hymn, with which the *Liber Hymnorum* begins, has no historical introduction or argument, such as we find prefixed to the great majority of the other Hymns in that MS. The initial letter is most elaborately ornamented, and occupies the whole of the left-hand margin of the page; there is also the rubrical title (of which there is no other example in the book)—“*Incipit Ymnus Scti Patricii episcopi Scotorum.*” It is probable, however, that the MS. may have lost a leaf at the beginning in which the Preface was contained.

Colgan’s copy had a Preface, which he has published in a Latin translation, under the title of “*Præfatio veteris anonimi.*”—*Trias. Thaum.*, p. 211. It has been thought desirable to insert this preface here, as Colgan’s work is now extremely scarce and costly.

#### “PRÆFATIO VETERIS ANONIMI.

AUDITE OMNES, &c. Secundinus filius Restituti, de Longobardis Italiæ, et Darercæ sororis S. Patricii, composuit hunc Hymnum. Secundinus Romanum nomen ejus fuit: sed illud Hiberni verterunt in Sechnald. Locus in quo erat compositus, est Ecclesia Domnach-Sechnald. i. Basilica Secundini, appellata. Tempore Loegarii filii Neill, Hiberniæ regis, fuit compositus. Vel in S. Patricii encomium, vel causa pacis inter ipsum et S. Secundinum reconciliandæ, fertur compositus. Cum enim quadam vice quidam alii viri Sancti, quorum ipse interfuit familiari colloquio, S. Patricium magnis encomiis extollerent, S. Secundinus dixisse fertur:—Ita Patricius esset optimus, nisi charitatem parum predicaret; per hoc solum intendens, si S. Patricius piam liberalitatem, seu bonorum temporalium in pios usus largitionem prædicasset, multo plures possessiones et prædia in usus et dotationem ecclesiarum prona populi devotione fore conferenda. Sed verbum illud ut prolatum est, delatum ad ejus aures, displicuit Patricio veræ charitatis typo, et eximio cultori; qui et respondit:—Propter charitatem, parcius charitatem prædico; nam post me multi viri eximii meritis et sanctitate illustres in hac insula florebut, qui populi piis largitionibus et obsequiis indigebunt, quibus et ea ego relinquo. Tunc agnitâ culpâ, et petitâ veniâ, Patri, vero charitatis speculo, reconciliatus filius, composuit hunc Hymnum, qui primus in Hibernia et secundum ordinem Alphabeticum factus est. Viginti tribus capitulis seu rhythmis constat; et rhythmus quisque quatuor lineis: linea vero



quindecim syllabis. Hymno iam composito S. Secundinus, volens illum S. Patricio ostendere, ait: Hymnum composui, in laudem ejusdam viri sancti, adhuc in carne degentis, quem queso dignetur Vestra Paternitas audire. S. Patricius respondit se quidem libenter audire Dominum laudari in operibus servorum suorum, seu quae ipse ob merita servorum operatur. S. vero Secundinus, silentio praeteriens primum istius Hymni versiculum, in quo nomen S. Patricii continetur (ne forte Magistri, laudes humanas exosi, indignationem incurreret), a secundo incepit, cujus initium est, *Beata Christi custodit mandata in omnibus*. Et sic in recitatione hymni progreditur, usque ad alium versum, qui incipit *Maximus in regno caelorum*. S. vero Patricius, hoc audiens, ait; Quomodo de homine dici potest quod sit *Maximus in regno caelorum*? S. Secundinus respondit, Pro positivo hic ponitur superlativus. Postea Hymno usque ad finem recitato, insinuavit illum in laudem ipsius viri Dei fuisse a se compositum, devotamque se expectare mercedem. Verus popularis aures spreto, licet factum displicuerit, nolens tamen pii discipuli devotum reprobare studium, respondit se ex clementia Salvatoris expectare eam mercedem, ut quicumque mane et vesperi illum Hymnum devote recitaret, facilem exitum et premium gloriae accepturus sit. Hanc, inquit Secundinus, mercedem accepto: sed quia Hymnus longus est, nec facile quisque potest totum memoriae commendare, optarem eandem gratiam concedendam, eius partem recitanti. Consequetur etiam, inquit Patricius, recitans tres posteriores ejus versus &c."

The copy of this Hymn, preserved in the *Leabhar breac*, is also preceded by a similar Preface or Introduction in the Irish language, which has never hitherto been published. It is essentially the same as that translated by Colgan, but it contains also some matter, which was either not to be found in Colgan's copy, or which he may have deemed it expedient to omit<sup>a</sup>. It is, therefore, here given in the original, together with an English translation, without any mutilation; and some notes are added, to render it more intelligible to the reader.

Audite omnes. Locus hujus Hymni .i. Domnach Sechnall. ⁊ ipe in Sechnall pui do pugne hunc mnum do Patraic.

Patraic umoppo, do bpeanaib h-Ereluaide a bunatap. Calpurn do ann a athap. Potaid ann a fenathap, deochan atcomnaic pibe. Conchess, umoppo, a ma-  
tair. Lupait ⁊ Tigrip, a bi puap.

batair om, ann nomna pop Patraic .i. Succat a ann ic a thupraigib. Cothrigie

*Audite omnes. Locus hujus Hymni, .i. Domnach Sechnall<sup>b</sup>. And it was that same Sechnall that composed this Hymn in honour of Patrick.*

Now Patrick, in his origin, was of the Britons of Ereluaide<sup>c</sup>. Calpurn was the name of his father; Fotaidd<sup>d</sup> the name of his grandfather, who was a deacon. Conchess<sup>e</sup> was his mother, Lupait and Tigrip his two sisters.

Patrick had four names; viz. Succat was his name with his parents. Cothrigie<sup>f</sup> was his name when

<sup>a</sup> To omit.—Colgan's version of the Preface ends with " &c.," which seems to imply some omissions.

<sup>b</sup> Domnach Sechnall.—That is, "The place where this Hymn was composed was Domnach Sechnall," the *Dominica*, or Church of St. Sechnall, now Dunshaughlin, in the county of Meath.

<sup>c</sup> Ereluaide.—Or *Alcluit*, the Rock of Clyde. See Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.*, p. 170, col. 2, n. 2.

<sup>d</sup> Fotaidd.—Or Potitius.

<sup>e</sup> Conchess.—Probably *Concessa*.

<sup>f</sup> Cothrigie.—The author of the very ancient Life of St. Patrick, which Colgan has placed second (and which he attributes to a junior Patrick, a disciple of the great St. Patrick), writes this name *Quadrige*. He says, c. 12, "Illie [sc. in regione Dalaradia] *Quadrige* nomen accepit, quia equorum quatuor domibus serviebat. Et erat quadrinominus:

a annu dia m-bui oc foznam do écthrur.  
Magoniur a annu o German. Patriciur a  
annu a Papa Celestino.

Pochand, umorpo, tundeéta Patraic m  
Eirinn. Ip amlab po forcoemnacur .i.  
Seacht mec Seéctmaide nuz bpetan batap  
por lonzay, co nup ortutap Armoricc le-  
tha. Do ecomnacur breinn do bpetnab  
h-Ercluide doib m tan ym i n-Armoricc le-  
tha. Orita h-irubiu Calpurn mac Fotaib  
athap Patraic, 7 po zabab iaram Patraic  
7 a bi fiair andyrm. Dolloctap iaram mec  
Seéctmaide por muiy doóummu n-Erinn. Re-  
nair iaram [Lupart] mdyrm .i. h-i Conallib  
Muprémnu, 7 pentap Patraic ppa Miliuc  
mac ui buam i n-Dál araidhe 7 ppa a thriur  
m-brathap, 7 po penpat a bi fiair i Conal-  
lib Muprémnuib, 7 m ma ficitur doib.

Cethrap, umorpo, por cennaiz-yrm Pá-  
traic, 7 oen díspide Miliuc. comh ar ym po  
éctam m n-annu ip Cothruige. Iarpm nf po  
foznad-pum do chethapéreib. Oe donnairc,  
umorpo, Miliuc cor ba moz iperach h-e, por  
cenbaiz ón triur aile, corpur fóznad dó a  
oenur co cend .uif. m-bliabán, po ber na  
n-ebraide, 7 pó éep mox n-muio h-i n-bíth-  
puib plébi Mhri i n-Dal araidhe, oc mgarpe  
mucc Miliuc.

Tecmaic tra co n-acca Miliuc pyp n-áb-

he was serving four [masters]. Magonius<sup>2</sup> was his  
name given by St. German. Patricius was his name  
given by Pope Celestine.

The cause<sup>3</sup> of Patrick's coming to Erinn. This is  
the way it happened; viz. the seven sons of Secht-  
maidhe, king of Britain, that were in banishment,  
ravaged Armoric-Leatha. They happened to come  
upon a party of the Britons of Ercluaide on that  
occasion in Armoric-Leatha. Calpurn, son of Fo-  
thaid, Patrick's father, was killed there, and Pa-  
trick and his two sisters were taken captive there.  
The sons of Sechtmaidhe went afterwards over the  
sea to Erinn; and Lupait was sold there in Conaille  
Muirtheimhne; and Patrick was sold to Miliuc, son  
of Ua Buain, in Dal-Araidhe, and to his three bro-  
thers; and they sold his two sisters in Conaille  
Muirtheimhne, but they did not know it.<sup>4</sup>

Four persons purchased Patrick, and Miliuc was  
one of them; and from this he had the name of  
Cothrighe. Afterwards he did not serve four houses;  
but when Miliuc saw that he was a faithful servant,  
he purchased him from the other three, so that he  
served him alone to the end of seven years, accord-  
ing to the custom of the Hebrews; and he suffered  
much hardship in the wilderness of Sliabh Mis in  
Dal Araidhe, tending the swine of Miliuc.

It happened at that time that Miliuc saw a vi-

nam primum *Succet* vocatus est: a serviendo vero  
quatuor domibus *Quotirche* vocabulum sumpsit, et eis  
quatuor divitibus cum omni cordis devotione servi-  
vit." See Colgan, *Tr. Th.* p. 17, note 15. See also  
the Tripartite Life, lib. i. c. 17 (*ibid.* p. 119).  
S. Fiech, in his Hymn on the Life of St. Patrick,  
gives the same interpretation of this name:

batap ile Coétraige  
ceatap tribe dia foznad.

All were [called] Cothraighe  
Who served four families.

And see the scholiast's note on this passage, n. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Magonius*.—The scholiast on St. Fiech's hymn  
interprets this name, "magis agens quam ceteri  
monachi."—*Colgan. ubi supra.*

<sup>3</sup> *The cause*.—This is apparently from the Tri-  
partite Life, l. i. c. 16; where, however, the King  
of Britain is called *Fectmagius*. The old scholiast  
on the hymn of St. Fiech (n. 5) also gives this King  
the equivalent name of *Factmudius*; but Sechtmuidhe,  
or Septimius, is probably the true name. The Irish  
p and p are easily confounded. Probus (i. 12) calls  
him *Rethmitus*.

<sup>4</sup> *They did not know it*.—"Nec Patricius quid-  
quam de sororum, nec illæ de fratris servitute scive-  
runt."—*Vit. Trip., ubi supra.*

éine a. i. dapple co n-acca Cothrige do éit-  
tacht éinne up in tech irpaba, 7 lappar  
éimeb uap a éind, 7 ap a ípouaib, 7 ap a  
éluarfaib, in dapple do po maich in lappar  
fap dia lóireub, aét por indaib-pum nað,  
7 in po epéoidigertar do h-i. A mac 7 a  
mgen, umoppo, batap in oen lepaib ppup  
po loipe in tene iat, co n-beirna luaiti sib  
7 co po epébertar in goeth in luaiti pin  
po Erinn.

Ro gairmeb iaram Cothrige do Miliuc  
cup indur dó a ír 7 po ue Cothrige bpeith  
puppi. i. In tene at éonnaipciup indum-pa,  
upar na érinóci indurin bpeithaigep indum-  
pa. 7 up pin ípócanub-pa duicpu iapcain 7 n-  
éhpertep-eu. Do mac, umoppo, ocup t-in-  
gen cpeprip ríbe 7 nor loipece tene in pacha  
iat.

In tan épa po genap in éi noem Pátrai-  
upet pucab h-e cup in mac ball éapenech  
na batcepb. Gorianup a ainm in t-pacairt,  
7 noco paibe upci ocaí ap a n-beirnaib in  
batcepb, co capuc bí láim na noibei dap pin  
cálmam, co tamic upci app, 7 lauauc Goria-

sion; viz. he thought he saw Cothrige come to him  
into the house where he was, and a flame of fire was  
issuing up from his head, and from his nostrils, and  
from his ears, and he [Miliuc] thought that the  
flame broke upon him to burn him, but he drove  
it from him, and it did not harm him. His son and  
his daughter, however, who were in the same bed  
with him, were burnt by that fire, and reduced to  
ashes, and the wind scattered those ashes all over  
Erinn.

Cothrige was immediately called in by Miliuc,  
who told him his vision; and Cothrige gave the  
interpretation of it as follows:—The fire which thou  
sawest on me is the Faith of the Trinity, which burns  
within me: and it is this faith which I shall hereafter  
preach unto thee, but thou wilt not believe. Thy  
son, however, and thy daughter, they will believe,  
and the fire of grace shall consume them.

At the time when the same St. Patrick was born  
he was brought to the blind, flat-faced youth to be  
baptized<sup>4</sup>. Gorianus was the name of the Priest;  
and he had no water wherewith to perform the bap-  
tism, so he brought both the infant's hands<sup>1</sup> over  
the ground, and water came out of it, et lavavit

<sup>1</sup> *Saw a vision.*—The story of Miliuc's vision, as  
here given, is evidently from the second Life in  
Colgan's Collection, c. 15; see also Jocelin (Vit. 6ta),  
c. 14, and the Tripartite Life, lib. i. c. 20.

<sup>2</sup> *To be baptized.*—This curious story of St. Pa-  
trick's baptism is told in the second and third of  
the Lives in Colgan's Collection, nearly as above;  
and in both those Lives the blind, flat-faced man  
(*tabulata facie*, i. e. without nose) is expressly  
said to have been a priest. The fourth Life calls  
him "a certain saint, blind from his birth" (*ad  
quemdam sanctum virum a natiuitate cecum*), and  
tells the same story of the fountain, the baptism,  
and the restoration of the blind man's sight, and of  
his immediately acquiring a knowledge of letters, so  
as to read the baptismal office. Jocelin gives the  
miracle of the fountain, of the restoration of sight,  
and of the knowledge of letters immediately conferred  
upon the blind man; but he expressly states, that

the infant Patrick had been baptized before, and that  
the blind man was a layman,—"*Sicut exteriori bene-  
ficio effectus fuerat videns de cæco, sic interiori gra-  
tia literatus de laico.*"—*Jocel.*, c. 2 (*ap. Colgan.*  
p. 65). The Tripartite Life tells the story of the  
baptism as in the text, but calls the blind man  
merely *quendam virum sanctum*, and says nothing  
of the flat face, or of his being a priest. His name  
is variously written, Gormias, Gormas, Guornias.—  
See Colgan's note, *Trias Th.*, p. 16, col. 2, n. 3. In  
the text he is called a *youth*; the word used is *mac*,  
which commonly signifies a son, but denotes also  
*puer juvenis*; and he is also here expressly said to  
have been a priest, and to have baptized St. Patrick.

<sup>3</sup> *The infant's hands.*—"De manu infantis sig-  
num crucis in terra posuit."—*Vit.* 2da, c. 3. *Cælestis  
gratiæ motus stimulo, apprehensa infantis manu,  
crucis signum humo impressit.*"—*Vit. Trip.*, l. i.  
c. 4.

nur faciem suam, 7 no eoprlaictē a noirc  
bō iarpru, 7 no aipleḡ in m-baichur, in tī nar  
pōḡlamm lictir niam.

Tempus hautem, .i. Loeghaire mac Néill  
nig epenn. Causa, ar molad Patraic, ar  
arbert Sechnall rru Patraic, cum do  
gēn-ra molad bunt. Arbert Patraic, nī h-aīl  
dam-ra mo molad m bechad. Dixit Sech-  
nall. Non interrogavi utrum faciam, sed  
quando faciam. Dixit Patraic, rī faciar  
uemiē tempus .i. ar no ficit Patraic nob  
focur ammprep a etrechta.

Sechnall .i. mac Repriciuti, ipe do pigne  
hunc innum do Patraic; ar balta epream  
do Patraic, 7 filur roporur Patraic h-e  
beor, 7 do Longbarðab Letha do; ut dixit  
Cochad ua Flannucan.

Sechnall mac uf baird in buada.  
buaib pep m-betha.  
do fil glan garḡ ḡile dacha  
Longbarð Letha.

Longobardi dicti sunt eo quod habent  
longam barbāam.

Secundinus pecanr̃ dīlīcta aliorum uel  
pecebenr̃ ipre a dīlīctir̃ mterppretatur.

In tan tpa boi Sechnall oc denam mō  
mmum-rī, ip anō do pāla oenach do denam  
h-ī uapḡad Sechnall, co n-bechur o Sech-

Gorianus faciem suam; and then his eyes were  
opened, and he read the baptismal office,—the man  
that had never learned a letter.

Tempus autem; viz. when Loeghaire, son of  
Niall, was king of Erin. Causa to praise  
Patrick. Sechnall said to Patrick, "When shall I  
make a hymn of praise for thee." Patrick said, "I  
desire not to be so praised during my life." Sechnall  
answered, "Non interrogavi utrum faciam, sed quando  
faciam." Patrick said, "Si facias venit tempus," i. e.  
because Patrick knew that the time of his [Sech-  
nall's] death was at hand.

Sechnall, viz. the son of Restitutus, was he who  
made this Hymn in honour of Patrick; for he was  
a disciple of Patrick, and he was also the son of  
Patrick's sister; and he was of the Longobards of  
Letha, ut dixit Eochaidh O'Flannagan.

Sechnall, son of Ua Baird, the gifted,  
The most gifted of living men,  
Of the race of the pure, fierce, white-coloured  
Longobards of Letha.

Longobardi dicti sunt eo quod habent longam  
barbam.

Secundinus, secans delicta aliorum, vel secedens  
a delictis, interpretatur.

Now, at the time when Sechnall was composing this  
hymn, it happened that a fair was about to be held  
at Sechnall's place, and Sechnall went to prohibit

<sup>m</sup> *Tempus*.—That is, the time when the hymn was  
composed.

<sup>n</sup> *Causa*.—That is, the cause or object of writing  
the hymn.

<sup>o</sup> *At hand*.—This answer of St. Patrick is thus  
given by Jocelin, c. 177:—"Si tamen id omnino  
cordi tuo intuxum fuerit, quod facere disponis, fac  
citius, quia mors tibi adest in januis. Omnium  
enim episcoporum, qui sunt in Hibernia, de seculo  
primus migrabis."—Cf. *Vit. Trip.*, Part iii. c. 89.  
(*Colgan*. p. 165).

<sup>p</sup> *Eochaidh O'Flannagan*.—This writer is quoted  
by the Four Masters at the year 987; and they re-  
cord his death at A. D. 1003, where they call him

"Archinneach of Lis Aoidhedh [the fort of guests].  
of Armagh, and of Cluan Fiachna [now Clonfeacle].  
and historian of Ireland (paor penóura ḡaoidel)."

<sup>q</sup> *Longum barbam*.—This is the interpretation  
which Paulus Diaconus (*De gestis Longobardorum*,  
lib. i. c. 9<sup>1</sup>), gives as certain. But others maintain  
that the name Longobard signifies, more probably,  
Long-spear, the word *Barde* being a spear or bat-  
tle-axe in the Teutonic dialects.—*Vid.* Not. ad  
Vit. S. Antonini Abb. Surrent. ex antiquis Lectioni-  
bus Eccl. Surrent. (Acta SS. Boland. 14 Feb.  
p. 796, D.).

<sup>r</sup> *At Sechnall's place*.—i. e. within the sacred pre-  
cincts of Dunshaughlin.





IS andr̄m arber̄t in t-an̄gel f̄ma Pa-  
t̄raic, b̄b̄ lār̄u f̄m uile. D̄o non̄pat t̄pa  
f̄r̄th andr̄m, Pāt̄raic 7 Sechnall, 7 cen ba-  
tar̄ [ac] t̄iāct̄am t̄m̄chell̄ na p̄l̄ḡi p̄o  
chual̄utar̄ cl̄aif̄ an̄gel oc cant̄am m̄m̄on  
f̄or̄ar̄t̄ īf̄ in eccl̄aif̄, 7 īf̄r̄eb̄ p̄o c̄an̄pat̄ in  
m̄-m̄m̄on d̄ia d̄an t̄or̄p̄ach,

Sancti venite c̄h̄r̄īf̄i c̄or̄p̄u, &c.

Com̄b̄ o p̄em̄ ille c̄an̄tar̄ in C̄ir̄m̄m̄ in m̄un-  
p̄a in tan t̄iāḡar̄ d̄o ch̄uip̄ C̄h̄r̄īf̄.

Ocup̄ no f̄aib̄ Pāt̄raic iap̄ f̄m Sechnall co  
R̄ōm̄ p̄or̄ c̄en̄b̄ neich̄ d̄o t̄h̄aif̄f̄ib̄ P̄oif̄ 7  
P̄et̄aif̄ 7 m̄ar̄t̄ir̄e aile, ap̄ in c̄ur̄p̄āc̄ub̄ d̄o  
p̄at̄ f̄ar̄p̄, 7 īc̄e f̄m t̄aif̄f̄e f̄ilēt̄ in Ār̄b̄ ma-  
cha h̄-ī p̄ep̄m̄ P̄oif̄ 7 P̄et̄aif̄.

O p̄u p̄cāt̄h̄ t̄pa d̄o Sechnall in m̄ol̄ub̄-ra  
d̄o den̄am, l̄ub̄ d̄ia t̄aif̄p̄en̄ad̄ d̄o Pāt̄raic.  
In tan p̄o f̄iāct̄ Sechnall co Pāt̄raic ar̄ber̄t̄  
f̄r̄īf̄f̄, M̄ol̄ab̄ d̄o p̄īḡer̄ d̄ia ap̄aile mac  
beth̄ab̄, īf̄ aif̄ d̄am et̄p̄ēct̄ d̄uic̄r̄iu f̄r̄īf̄f̄. Ar̄-  
ber̄t̄ Pāt̄raic, m̄och̄en̄ m̄ol̄ab̄ f̄ir̄ m̄ūn̄t̄ir̄e  
D̄ē. Īp̄e t̄pa t̄or̄p̄ach d̄o p̄at̄ Sechnall p̄or̄ a  
m̄m̄on .i. beata C̄h̄r̄īf̄i c̄ur̄p̄oib̄, ap̄ na p̄o  
c̄uc̄ab̄ Pāt̄raic [d̄ia aif̄e] c̄ia d̄ia n̄-b̄er̄n̄ad̄  
in t̄-m̄m̄on co t̄aif̄p̄eb̄ a ḡab̄aif̄. In tan d̄in,  
p̄o p̄aib̄ Sechnall, M̄ax̄im̄ūf̄ nam̄q̄ue in  
p̄eḡno cel̄or̄um, p̄o ch̄uip̄r̄caif̄ Pāt̄raic all̄uc  
h̄-illoc, 7 d̄ix̄it̄, c̄m̄d̄ap̄ b̄ar̄ m̄ax̄im̄ūf̄ homo  
in p̄eḡno cel̄or̄um. D̄ix̄it̄ Sechnall, p̄p̄o p̄or̄-  
p̄īūo ep̄t̄ hic. No īf̄ d̄o ilib̄ a ch̄eneoil̄ p̄en̄  
d̄or̄p̄oif̄ce. Īf̄ m̄ar̄ch̄ in f̄p̄ec̄ra ol̄ Pāt̄raic.

Then the Angel said to Patrick, "All these shall  
be thine." They made peace then, Patrick and  
Sechnall. And as they were going round the ceme-  
tery, they heard a choir of Angels chanting a hymn  
at the Offertory in the church, and what they  
chanted was the hymn whose beginning is—

Sancti venite, Christi corpus, &c.

So that from that time to the present that hymn is  
chanted in Erin when the Body of Christ is re-  
ceived.

And Patrick, after this, sent Sechnall to Rome  
for portions of the relics of Paul and Peter, and  
other martyrs, in consequence of the accusation he had  
made against him. And these are the relics\* which  
are now in Ardmaccha, in the shrine of Paul and Peter.

Now, when Sechnall had finished this Hymn, he  
went to show it to Patrick; and when he had reached  
Patrick, he said to him, "I have composed a hymn  
in honour of a certain Child of Life,—I wish that thou  
wouldest listen to it." Patrick answered, "I wel-  
come the praise of a man of the people of God." But  
the beginning† that Sechnall gave to the hymn was.  
*Beata Christi custodit*, in order that Patrick should  
not know in whose honour the hymn was made.  
until he had finished it. But when Sechnall re-  
peated, *Maximus namque in regno celorum*, Patrick  
moved from place to place, and said, "How can a  
man be greatest in the kingdom of heaven?" Sechnall  
said, "Pro positivo<sup>‡</sup> est hic; or it is because he  
excelled great numbers of his own race." "The  
answer is good," said Patrick.

\* *These are the relics.*—Jocelin makes St. Patrick  
himself go to Rome for these relics, and the Tripartite  
Life adds that he constituted S. Secundinus Arch-  
bishop of Armagh during his absence. See Note D, p. 44.

† *The beginning.*—i. e. he omitted the first stanza  
in which Patrick was named.

‡ *Pro positivo.*—Colgan's version of the Preface  
to this hymn, gives this passage thus—"S. Secun-  
dinus respondit, *Pro positivo hic ponitur superla-*

*tivus.*" But the text seems to be taken from the  
Tripartite Life (Part. iii. c. 91), where the story is  
thus told in Colgan's version—"Quo audito S. Pa-  
tricius è loco surgens, et in via progrediens, petiit  
a Secundino, quomodo de homine diceret *Maximus*  
*in regno calorum.* Secundinus . . . . respon-  
dit se non vocare *Maximum* liberà comparatione  
facta quoad omnes absolute, sed *propositivo* [read.  
*pro positivo*] inquit, sive respective, ved *quod plu-*

In tan tpa po peach pē Sechnall in t-m-mon dō gabail, ip and dō pocht pēp oēur hen cō m-biath leo dō Pātr̃aic .i. spūth 7 mm. bēpa nomen unu, 7 bñg nomen mu-bēp. Arbēp Pātr̃aic, tech olpē h-i n-gēbthap pīa ppoib in mmmun-pa nī bīa tēpica m-bfō and. Oēur tech nua, umoppa, h-i n-gēbthap pīuip, biath tōppuma Pātr̃aic cō noemab epenn and mme. Annal po foill-rigēb pīn dō Cholman elā, 7 alip cum eo, 7 amail po foill-rigēb dō Choemgēim cum pūip, in tan tane ap mō eclap dīa domnaig ip in pīamntech, ad mmmun hunc contauit. Pā-tr̃iciup cum mūtip Pātr̃ibup appapauit ei 7 tēp cantauit. Et tunc quidam pēultēp bīxīc. Cūp cammup hanc mmmun pīc. 7 bīxīc Coemgēim, nī maith pīn olpē quia appa-piuit enim nobīp Pātr̃iciup cum pūip dīp-cīpūp quāmbū cantabāmup mmmun.

When Sechnall had finished reciting the hymn, there came then a man and a woman<sup>1</sup> having food with them for Patrick, viz. cheese and butter. Bēra was the name of the man, and Brigh the name of the woman. Then Patrick said, "The house," said he, "in which this Hymn is sung before dinner, there shall be no scarcity of food in it." And the new house<sup>2</sup> in which it is sung before occupation the watching of Patrick and of the saints of Ireland shall be there about it; as the same was revealed to Colman Ela, and to others with him; and as it was revealed to Coemghin [Kevin] and his monks, when he came out of the church on Sunday into the refectory, and sang this hymn<sup>3</sup>. And Patrick, with many fathers, appeared to him, and he sang it three times. And then a certain foolish one said, "Why do we sing this hymn thus?" And Coemghin said, "That is not good," said he, "for Patrick with his disciples were visible to us, so long as we were singing this Hymn."

*ribus generis sui præcellit*, Britonum vel Scotorum." —*Colgan*. p. 166. That is to say, the superlative degree is used instead of the positive, *maximus* for *magnus*. Or else he is said to be *maximus*, relatively to others of his race, i. e. greatest of the Britons or Scots. See the Gloss on this passage of the Hymn, which is evidently taken from this explanation.

<sup>1</sup> *A man and a woman*.—See the *Trip. Life*, Part iii. c. 94.

<sup>2</sup> *The new house*.—i. e. the house built since Patrick's time, the house of the present day, shall have the protection of Patrick and of his companions, the saints of Ireland, according to the revelations made to St. Colman Ela and to St. Kevin. The following is the story alluded to as told in the Life of St. Colman Ela (*Colgan. ubi supr.*, p. 210)—"Beatus senex Colmanus cantabat cum suis fratribus Hymnum Sancti Patricii Archiepiscopi Hiberniæ, et beatus Patricius ante tempus S. Colmani multis annis migravit ad Christum. Venitque S. Patricius de cælo, et stetit in medio fratrum cantantium suum hymnum. Et videns S. Colmanus solus sanctum

Patricium, jussit ter cantari hymnum. Admirantes fratres, unus, senior ex illis, dixit ad S. Colmanum, Adsunt nobis alia spiritalia cantica, cur igitur moreremur in uno tota die? S. Colmanus ait illi, Vere bone senior; beatissimus noster Patricius stabat in medio nostri benedicens nos, usque dum audivit verbum increpationis tuæ; sed tunc illico evanuit ex oculis meis,—et ideo jussi ter Hymnum cantari. Hoc audiens ille senior displicuit sibi et penitentiam ægxit."

<sup>3</sup> *Sang this Hymn*.—The following is the account given in the Life of St. Kevin (c. 23) of the circumstance here alluded to:—"Quadam nocte S. Coemgenus cum suis monachis hymnum S. Patricii cantabant; repente autem B. Coemgenus admiratus tacuit, et suos tribus vicibus Hymnum cantare jussit. Hymno tertia vice deposito, benedixit eis S. Patricius. Quibus interrogantibus cur jussit hymnum cantari ter, ipse vero tacens, exposuit eis, dicens. S. Patronus noster Patricius, cujus hymnum cantastis, stabat in pavimento, suffultus baculo; et benedixit nobis a carmine cessantibus."—*Colgan. ubi supra*.

O pio piacht in t-immun do gabail, arbepc Sechnall, alogdam-ya op pe. Roctia ol Patraic, .i. allm lá fil in anno, a chubep de animabur peccatorum do dul dochumm nime ap in n-immon do denam. Ní geb-ya rin op Sechnall, op ip bec humm, 7 ip maith in molad. Roctia, ol Patraic, allm ló fil for capal do éochail, allm peccach do dul dochumm nime, ap in n-immon. Ní geb, op Sechnall, ap cia h-ierach na bepa laip in corber rin doéumm nime, cen co mola fepirin (no fep) amail turpa etip. Roctia, ol Patraic, moppfepirur caða darpam, 7 .x. da flr caða pachtapir dochumm nime do peccachab epenn. Ip bec, op Sechnall. Roctia, ol Patraic, cað oen gebur po lize 7 po epri do dul do chumm nime. Ní geb-ya rin op Sechnall, ap ip moir in t-immun, 7 nf each comcra a mebrugub. Apach uile, ol Patraic, ap na tri caibtelu bedimachu de. Deo gratias, op Sechnall.

Do parrigepc in t-angel do Patraic for rin epuach, in éctua .i. nem don ti gebap po lize 7 po epri na tri capitelu bedimcha de, ut epc

Imun do peza h-icbu,  
bid luptech diten do éach.

Opb abgitech fil pap, more ebpeorum

When the recitation of the Hymn was concluded, Sechnall said, "I must have the reward for it," said he. "Thou shalt have it," said Patrick, "the number of days that are in a year, the same number of souls of sinners shall go to heaven, for the making of this Hymn." "I will not accept that," said Sechnall, "for I think that too little, and the praise is good." "Thou shalt have then," said Patrick, "the number of the hairs that are on the casula<sup>c</sup> of thy cowl, the same number of sinners to go to heaven, for the Hymn." "I will not accept it," said Sechnall, "for who is the believer who would not take that number to heaven, although he were not praised by myself, nor by any one, as thou art." "Thou shalt have," said Patrick, "seven every Thursday, and twelve every Saturday, to go to heaven, of the sinners of Erin." "It is too little," said Sechnall. "Thou shalt have," said Patrick, "every one to go to heaven who sings it lying down and rising up." "I will not accept that," said Sechnall, "for the Hymn is long, and it is not every one that can commit it to memory." "Its whole grace then," said Patrick, "shall be upon the last three stanzas of it." "Deo gratias," said Sechnall.

The Angel promised the same thing to Patrick upon the Cruach<sup>d</sup>, viz. heaven to every one who shall sing the last three stanzas of it at lying down, and at rising up, as is [said by the poet].

A Hymn, which, if sung when alive,  
Will be a protecting Lorica unto all.

It is in alphabetical order, more Hebraorum<sup>e</sup>, sed

<sup>c</sup> *The casula*.—This seems partly taken from the third Life, c. 88 (Colgan, p. 28), where the story is thus told:—"Nam postquam hunc hymnum fecit Sechnall Patricio dixit, Quid mihi dabis pro mercede hujus hymni? Dixit ei Patricius, Dabitur tibi ut secundum numerum fimbriarum casulae tuae omnes tecum ad caelum portes. Dixit Sechnall, Malus clericus est qui istum numerum secum non portet; egometipse hunc numerum mecum portare possum. Dixitque Patricius, Quicumque hunc hymnum cantaverit in die mortis suae, infernum non possidebit. Et hoc Sechnallo placuit." See also *Tripart.*, Part.

iii. c. 91, where it is probable that Colgan has abridged this account of Sechnall's intercession with S. Patrick.

<sup>d</sup> *The Cruach*.—i. e. upon the celebrated mountain called Cruach, or Croagh-Patrick. See the third Life, c. 85 and 88, and *Probus*, lib. ii. c. 32.

<sup>e</sup> *A Hymn*.—These lines occur in St. Fiech's Hymn, which Colgan has published as the first Life of St. Patrick.—*Trias Thaum.*, p. 3, stanza 26.

<sup>f</sup> *More Hebraorum*.—Alluding to the Alphabetical Psalms of the Hebrew Bible.



reb non pep omnia. Tri capitula .xx. fil  
and; 7 .iiii. line in cad capitul; 7 .xv. pil-  
laba in cad line. 7 7i quip inuenerit plus  
minusue in eo error est. Acaac da mub,  
no a tri h-i fil inand 7ine penpu reb caupa  
mchm 7e.

Similitudine Moysir dicentir. audite celi  
qui loquarr. 7 David dicentir. audite haec  
omnes gentes.

non per omnia. Three and twenty capitula are in  
it; and four lines in each capitulum; and fifteen  
syllables in each line; et si quis invenerit plus mi-  
nusve, in eo error est. There are two or three places,  
which are sine sensu<sup>b</sup>, sed causa rithmi, etc.

[It was written] similitudine Moysis<sup>i</sup> dicentis,  
*Audite celi qui loquar*: et David dicentis, *Audite*  
*haec omnes gentes*.

#### NOTE B.

##### *Of the Author of the Hymn, and the Traditions respecting him.*

It would be inconsistent with the limits and objects of these notes to enter at any length into the history of St. Patrick, although many interesting topics of discussion are suggested by the curious document published in Note A.

We shall, therefore, confine our remarks to the notices which that document contains of the author of the hymn, and of the occasion on which it was composed.

I.—We are distinctly told that the hymn was written in Domhnach Sechnaill (now Dunshaughlin, in Meath), by the St. Sechnall, or Secundinus, from whom that place received its name; and that this Sechnall was the son of St. Patrick's sister, by her husband *Restitutus*, who was of "the Longobards of Leatha."

A rann cited from Eochaidh O'Flannagan, Archinneach, or Erenach of Armagh, and of Clonfeacle (ob. 1003), calls the father of St. Sechnall, *Ua Baird*, i. e. grandson or descendant of Bard, "of the race of the pure, fierce, white-coloured Longobards of Letha."

This statement suggests some questions, which can only be here indicated as subjects for investigation.

1. Are we to understand that the Longobards had their name from an ancestor called *Bard*, and not from their long beards, or long spears?

If so, this would seem to square more nearly with the opinion of those who maintain that the Longobardi were so called from the union of the Lingones and the

<sup>a</sup> *Sed non per omnia*.—That is, every line does not follow the alphabetical order, but only the first line of each quatrain.

<sup>b</sup> *Sine sensu*.—The meaning seems to be, that there are two or three passages of the Hymn in which the sense is sacrificed for the sake of the rhythm or

metre. See vv. 19, 31, 47, 52.

<sup>i</sup> *Similitudine Moysis*.—That is, this Hymn begins with the words *Audite omnes*, like the Song of Moses in Deut. xxxii., which begins *Audite cali*, and like Ps. xlviii. (*Hebr.* xlix.), a Psalm of David which begins *Audite haec omnes gentes*.

Bardi, a race of Gaul, or of ancient Saxony<sup>1</sup>. In an Irish author we might expect to find the Bardi termed Ui Baird, or Hy Baird, the descendants of Bard.

It is remarkable, however, that two of St. Patrick's disciples are also spoken of as sons of Ua Baird, viz. Comitius, or Connetus (*filius Hua Baird*), Bishop of Cluain-sean-moil [now Clonshanville, county Roscommon], and Dabonna (*filius Hua Baird*), Bishop of Cluain-na-manach.—*Vit. Trip.*, lib. ii. c. 18, 19. Aengus the Culdee, in his book "On the Mothers of the Saints of Ireland" (extant in MS. only), mentions Dabonna as one of the sons of St. Patrick's sister, and a brother of St. Sechnall:—

Lupait riur Dabpaic mačair .un. mac in  
ui baird .i. Sechnall, Nechtanb, Dabonna,  
Mogornan, Darigoc, Aupaille, Cruimchur  
Lugnath.

Lupait<sup>k</sup>, sister of Patrick, was the mother of the seven sons of the Ua Baird, i.e. Sechnall, Nechtann, Dabonna, Mogornan, Darigoc, Ausaille, Priest Lugnath.

It does not appear, however, that Comitius, or Connetus, was the son of St. Patrick's sister, and of Restitutus, although Colgan (p. 227) seems to assume that such was the case, and therefore, attributes to Liemanian nine sons in all, adding to the seven enumerated by Aengus, this Comitius, and another named Diarmid, who is expressly called the son of Restitutus, and the nephew of St. Patrick, in the Tripartite Life, lib. ii. c. 6.

Perhaps, however, the only reason why Diarmid and Comitius are supposed to be the sons of Liemanian, is their having been sons of an Hua Baird. All these statements are obscurities that need further and more patient investigation than these remote corners of Church history have ever yet received.

2. But how are we to receive the assertion that St. Patrick's sister, in the fifth century, was the wife of a Longobard of Italy; if that be what is meant (as is generally supposed) by a Longobard of Leatha, for it is notorious that the Longobards did not obtain a settlement in Italy until the middle of the sixth century, A.D. 568? Are we to question this latter date, as Colgan has done, or are we, with Dr. Lanigan, to solve the difficulty by a note of admiration, and reject the statement of the Irish authorities as an ignorant fabrication?

Before we make choice between these alternatives, some other considerations must be taken into account. There is mention of Longobards, and of Longobards of Leatha, in a much earlier period of Irish history.

<sup>1</sup> Saxony.—Aliis visum est, hanc illis appellationem a Saxonibus, eorum agminibus inmixtis, provenisse; quod *Bardos* appellari solitos Saxones tradit antiquitas.—*Alb. Krantz. Danie* lib. iv. c. 19. See also Hoffman, *Lexicon*, voce *Longobardi*.

<sup>k</sup> *Lupait*.—Colgan shows that Lupait is here an error for Liemanian.—*Tri. Thaum.*, p. 225 sq. The

tombstone of Lugnath, the last of the seven sons above enumerated, may still be seen, with its ancient Irish inscription, on the island of Inis-an-ghoill in Lough Corrib, and in that inscription he is expressly styled mac Umenueh, son of Liemanian. See Petrie on the Round Towers (*Trans. R. I. Acad.*, vol. xx. p. 164).

The Four Masters tell us that Aengus Olmucadha, King of Ireland, A. M. 3790 (or 3150, according to O'Flaherty), gained twelve battles over the Longobards,—a statement derived from the *Leabhar Gabhala*,<sup>1</sup> on the authority of an ancient poem, which celebrates the victories of King Aengus, and records his battles with the Lombards thus:—

Ro bhuir na cath deice iarthair  
i Leatha poir Longobairib.

He gained twelve battles afterwards  
In Leatha over the Longobards.

So that we have here the Longobards in Italy in the year of the world 3790, and an Irish king invading their territory!<sup>m</sup>

To escape this difficulty, O'Flaherty<sup>n</sup> maintains that the Longobardi vanquished by King Aengus were a people of North Britain, who are not to be confounded with the Longobards or Lombards of the continent of Europe, and that from these British Longobards, so called from their bards or poets, and not from their beards, the husband of St. Patrick's sister was descended. But this hypothesis takes no account of the fact, that the same authorities from which we learn the existence of these Longobards place them in *Leatha* (wherever that may be), and that there is not the smallest evidence to prove that there was ever a people of that name in North Britain.<sup>o</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Leabhar gabhala*.—The *Leabhar Gabhala*, or Book of Conquests, is a collection of historical poems and documents of great value, and the chief source, in fact, of Irish traditional history. The MS. of it here quoted is in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, and is in the handwriting of one of the compilers of the Annals of the Four Masters.

<sup>m</sup> *Their territory*.—It will be observed that the Four Masters in their Annals do not call these Longobards the Longobards of Leatha. Is this an evidence that they were conscious of the difficulty?

<sup>n</sup> *O'Flaherty*.—Longobardi a barba Norvegis, Gothijs, et Germanis *bard* dicti, qui e Scandia Danica circa an. Domini 382 egressi, et Slavoniam, Istrum, Galliam, et Germaniam pervagati in Pannoniam pervenerant, et inde anno 568, Nars-te in Italiam advocati Longobardiae seu Lombardiae regnum, Ticino sede, sibi in Italia condiderant, fuerunt diversi ab his Longobardis Borealis Britanniae, gente a Bardis suis appellationem illam desumente, e qua oriundus gente Restitutus S. Patricii sororius nunc Longobardus, nunc Huabaird, i. e. e progenie Bardi cognominatur.—*Oggg*, p. 206.

<sup>o</sup> *North Britain*.—At least none of the authorities

which O'Flaherty has quoted in support of the assertion give any countenance to the opinion that the Lombards of whom they spoke were in any way different from the people generally known by that name. He cites, for example, the Martyrology of Tamblacht, and the scholiast of Marianus of the 27th November. Of these works, preserved in MS. in the Burgundian Library at Brussels, I have been permitted by the liberality of the Belgian Government to take copies. In the Martyrology of Tamblacht there is a defect from October 17 to December 17; and the Brussels MS. has a note stating that this defect existed in "the old book" from which that MS. was transcribed. Its testimony, therefore, cannot now be ascertained, but the Martyrology of Marianus O'Gorman, at November 27, records the feast of St. Sechnall in these words—

Sechnall mop mac n buirb.

Sechnall the great, son of Ca Baird.

And the scholiast has the following note:—O'Domnach Seáchnall i n-deirece bpeá; do Longobairib do, 7 Seandnuir a ann, mac do Uaiman ruir Patraic e, 7 po boi ma ppuoin-aib in Apdmaca.—"Of Domnach Sechnall in

Colgan<sup>p</sup> has dealt with this difficulty entirely with reference to the father of St. Secundinus, and the existence of Lombards in Italy in the fifth century. After stating the objection that the Longobardi had not established themselves in Italy, according to the earliest computation (that of Sabellicus and Baronius), until A. D. 568, he asserts that the opinion of Krantzius is much more probable, which assigns their migration from their primitive Scandinavian settlements to the year 382, and that even if it were certain that they had not obtained a fixed settlement in Italy before the latter half of the sixth century, it is undeniable that they had spread through Sclavonia, Germany, and Gaul, and he concludes that it is therefore not impossible that the Lombard Restitutus may have become acquainted with St. Patrick and his sister in Gaul or Britain, or even in Italy, although his nation had not then obtained a fixed habitation there.

the south of Bregia; he was of the Longobards, and Secundinus was his name; he was the son of Liamhan, the sister of Patrick, and he was Primate of Armagh." O'Flaherty refers also to the Martyrology of Donegal, where we find the following notice of St. Seachnall at the 27th of November:

Seachnall .i. Secundinur ppiomarbh Arpa-maéa. Mac do Liamhan riur Pádraice e, 7 i n-boinnach Sechnall i m-bpeáibh ata a éall. Aoir beáa Pádraice leabap ii., cap. 25, go n-beppab Pádraice ecclaiur i n-ionab i ppauibé Secundinur po épann buillib aq uppaíge ma aonar, 7 go bfuil deaib na epióice i n-ionab i n-aq eopap muena a econnadéaib, aibail cuigceap ap imteéaib Pádraice.

"Seachnall, i. e. Secundinus, Primate of Armagh. He was the son of Liamhan, Patrick's sister, and his church was at Domhnach Sechnaill in Bregia. The Life of Patrick, lib. 2, c. 25, says [*Vit. Trip.*, l. ii. c. 58, *Colg.*, p. 137], that Patrick was erecting a church in a place where Secundinus was taking pleasure in praying under a tree alone, and the figure of the cross is in that place, i. e. in Tobarmucna in Connaught, as is known from the travels of Patrick."

Here it will be observed there is no mention whatsoever of the Lombards, whilst in the passage quoted from the Martyrology of Mariannus, they are spoken of by their usual name, without any mention either of North Britain or of Leatha.

The same remark applies to the other authorities cited by O'Flaherty, viz. the Annals of the Four Masters at 447 (where we read of the death of "Secundinus Mac Ua Baird, the son of St. Patrick's sister," without any mention of Longobards), and the passage from Aengus the Cullee, *on the Mothers of the Saints*, which has already been quoted. O'Flaherty refers also to the Tripartite Life of S. Patrick, lib. ii. c. 18. This is the passage upon which I have already commented, in which Comectius, or Connetus, and Dabonna, are spoken of as sons of Ua Baird. It contains no mention of Longobards, much less of Longobards of North Britain.

Besides these, O'Flaherty cites two other authorities which I am unable to verify, namely, the Martyrology of Cathald Maguire, and that of Cashel. No MSS. of these works are known to exist in this country.

On the whole, then, it would seem that O'Flaherty's assertion of a tribe called Longobards existing in North Britain at that early period is a mere conjecture, devised to meet a difficulty, and having no other foundation than the fact that Aengus Ollmuchadha is said to have made incursions into the country of the Picts, in North Britain.

<sup>p</sup> *Colgan*.—Colgan's words are:—"Sed dices gentem Longobardorum non extitisse tempore S. Patricii: nam ipso multis ante annis mortuo, gens hæc ex Scandinavia, hodie Scandia, Danici vel Norwegici imperii regione, primum egressa est anno 686 juxta



But the authorities do not say that Restitutus, a Lombard, met Liemania and married her in Italy, for this would have been no very great historical difficulty; what they do say is, that her husband was of the race of the Lombards of Italy, implying that the Lombards were established there in the fifth century.

And it is further to be observed, that Colgan's solution of this difficulty does not at all explain the existence of Lombards in Italy in the times of King Aengus Ollmuchadha, but rather seems to give up that as a hopeless case, for he contents himself with showing that the Longobards began their migrations in the fourth century, and takes no notice of the other difficulty. If he had known of a nation of Longobards, settled in North Britain, some centuries before the Christian era, he could not have failed to notice what would have been so much to his purpose.

3. The fact, however, with which we are to grapple, and which cannot be ignored, is, that the Irish authorities speak of Longobards of Italy (if *Leatha* be Italy), as existing, not only in the age of St. Patrick, but in that of Aengus Ollmuchadha.

But *Leatha*, in the language of ancient Irish authors, often signifies *Letavia*, or *Armorica*. This was in all probability its original meaning, and it may be doubted whether the interpretation *Leatha* = *Latium* = *Italia* be not a mistake.

Restitutus, therefore, may have been a Longobard, not of Italy, but of *Armorica*, and the warlike and victorious King Aengus Ollmuchadha may have invaded the Lombards in *Letavia* or *Armorica*, not in Italy<sup>a</sup>.

I admit, however, that we are here met by the same difficulty which is apparently fatal to O'Flaherty's hypothesis. We have no evidence of a settlement of Lombards in *Armorica* at the early period which is necessary to save the credit of our Irish historical authorities.

4. It is a further difficulty that the name given to the husband of Liemania is Latin, and even Christian in its signification. We find no such names as *Restitutus* among the Pagan Lombards of that age; and therefore there is suspicion that there is here some corruption of the history, from the imaginations of a later age. But if Patrick's heathen name of *Succath* was changed into the Latin *Patricius*, the name of Liemania's Lombardic husband may have undergone a similar transformation. Here is matter for further investigation and inquiry.

Saxonem Grammaticum; vel saltem, juxta Sabellium et Baronium non fixit sedem in Italia ante annum 568; nec ingressa est Pannoniam (ex qua in Italiam erupit), ante annum 525. Respondeo, Saxonem in hoc, quemadmodum et in aliis, fabulis indulsisse. Verius enim est quod Crantzius scribit, egressam esse circa annum 382. Et esto non fixerit sedem in Pannonia aut Italia, ante predictos annos, certum tamen est eam, permultis antea annis, natali solo excessisse, et

per Sclavoniæ, Istri, Germaniæ, et Galliæ fines divagatam fuisse . . . . . Potuit autem Restitutus maritus Liemaniæ, vel in Gallia, vel in Britannia, vel etiam in Italia, esto ibi gens ejus eo ævo non habitaverit, S. Patricio occurrisset, ejusque sororem in uxorem accepisse."—Colgan, *Act. Sanctorum* (*De S. Mele. 6. Febr.*), p. 262, n. 17.

<sup>a</sup> *Not in Italy*.—See Irish version of Nennius, *Addit. Notes*, No. xi. p. 19.

5. The historical poem of Eochaidh O'Flannagain describes the Longobards as "pure, fierce, and white-coloured."

The epithets *pure* and *fierce* may be taken as words of course, and they are strictly in the spirit of the Irish bardic poetry. But *white-coloured* seems to imply something historical, and it receives an apparent confirmation from the following notices of the dress of the ancient Longobards, by Paulus Diaconus (or Warnefridus), himself a Lombard.

In one place he represents the son of Turisend, King of the Gepidi, as reproaching the Longobards for their custom of wearing *white* bands or swathes round their legs:—

Tunc regis alter qui aderat filius, patris sermone stimulatus, Longobardos injuriis lacerare cœpit, asserens eos, quia suris inferius candidis utebantur fasciis, equabus, quibus crurum tenuis pedes albi sunt, similes esse, dicens:—Fætulæ sunt equæ quas simulatis<sup>1</sup>.

Again, in describing the dress of the ancient Lombards, as represented in a picture in the palace of Queen Theudelinda, he speaks of them as wearing loose linen garments like those of the Anglo-Saxons.

In quâ picturâ manifeste ostenditur quomodo Longobardi eo tempore comam capitis tondebant, vel qualis illis vestitus, qualisve habitus erat. Si quidem cervicem usque ad occipitium radentes nudabant, capillos a facie usque ad os dimissos habentes, quos in utramque partem in frontis discrimine dividebant. Vestimenta vero eis erant laxa, et maximè lineæ, qualia Angli-Saxones habere solent, ornata institis latioribus, vario colore contextis. Calcei vero eis erant usque ad summum pollicem pene aperti, et alternatim laqueis corrigarum retenti. Postea vero cœperunt hosis uti, super quas equitantes tubrugos birreos mittebant, sed hoc de Romanorum consuetudine traxerunt<sup>2</sup>.

On the whole, it is possible that there may be found more golden grains of true history in these rude and seeming blunders about Longobards of Leatha than would at first sight seem probable to the modern reader.

6. It remains to notice one further mention of Longobards in the Lives of St. Patrick, although it does not assist us in clearing up the historical difficulties we have been considering.

The author of the fourth Life in Colgan's collection tells us<sup>3</sup>, that the nine daughters of the King of the Longobards, together with a daughter of the King of Britain (Regis Britannix, which may be Brittany or Armorica), leaving their country and kindred, came in pilgrimage to St. Patrick, and submitted themselves to his spiritual direction in a life of monastic retirement. The same story is told by Jocelyn, but he speaks only of "quædam virgo filia Regis Britannix, cum novem puellis sanctis, quæcum ipsa illuc ad S. Patricium venerat"<sup>4</sup>; he does not, however, say that these last were the daughters of a Lombard king.

Not so the author of the *Vita Tripartita*; speaking of the fame of St. Patrick, which

<sup>1</sup> *De gestis Longobard*, lib. i. c. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Cap. 83, *Tr. Th.*, p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, lib. iv. c. 23.

<sup>4</sup> *Jocel.*, c. 165 (*Tr. Th.*, p. 101).

induced many to place themselves under his guidance, in order to lead, under his directions, a holy life, he tells us (iii. c. 73):—"Non solum inter hos viri plurimi, sed et aliquot extiterunt Deo dicatæ virgines, ex quibus in primis erant novem filiæ Regis Longobardorum, et filia Regis Britannię; quæ cum venissent juxta Armacham ad locum *Coll-na-ningean*\* [the hazel tree of the Virgins] dictum, miserunt nuntium ad S. Patricium, ejus præsentiam salutaremque instructionem postulantes." St. Patrick accedes to their request, and having predicted that three of them would die in the place where they then were, directs the survivors to repair to a place called *Druim Fennedha*, there to live a life of retirement and heavenly contemplation.

Here there is no mention of *Leatha* as the country of these Longobard virgins, but their connexion with the daughter of the King of Britain seems to give some incidental, although remote countenance to the conjecture that Brittany, or Armorica, may have been known in ancient times as a seat of the Lombards.

On the whole, then, it appears that before we reject the statement that St. Sechnall was descended from the Lombards of Leatha, some further inquiries ought to be made into the early history of the Longobardic tribes. Is there any ground for supposing that they had settled in North Britain, or in Armorica, during the reign of Aengus Ollmuchadha, or at any time prior to the age of St. Patrick? Or are we to depress the chronology of St. Patrick's Life, so as to make it square with the statement that his sister was married to a Longobard of Italy? Or lastly, are we to assume that this notice of the Longobards of Italy is only a mistake of the ancient historians, who, knowing the Lombards of their own day as Lombards of Italy, forgot that they were not so in the times of King Aengus and of St. Patrick.

II.—It remains now to say a few words on the occasion on which the Hymn is said to have been written.

The Lives of St. Patrick, as well as the Preface to the Hymn in the *Leabhar Breac*, give us to understand that St. Secundinus composed the Hymn on the occasion of his reconciliation with St. Patrick after their temporary misunderstanding; and that it was completed a very short time only before the death of its author, an event which the Four Masters have recorded at the year 448.

It must be admitted that the style of the Hymn coincides exactly with this tradition; so that if it was not composed during St. Patrick's lifetime, it must undoubtedly have been written with a view to pass for having been then composed. All the actions of its hero are described in the present tense, and in language which clearly implies that he was still living. Thus he is said to be keeping Christ's commandments—

Beata Christi custodit mandata in omnibus ;

to be constant in the fear of God, and immoveable in the faith (v. 9); to be trading

\* *Coll na ngingean*.—Called *Ferta minor* by Jocelin, *loc. cit.*

with the talents of the Gospel, and exacting usury upon them from the Irish clans, in consequence of which, as the reward of his labour, he will hereafter possess with Christ the joy of the kingdom of heaven—

Cum Christo regni cœlestis *possessurus* gaudium.

He is said also to be exhibiting to all good men the form and example of an Apostle, and to be preaching to the people by works as well as by words, provoking to holiness by his example those whom his words may fail to convince.

Qui tam verbis, quam et factis, plebi prædicat Dei,  
Ut quem dictis non convertit, actu provocet bono.

He is described as humbled by the fear of God, in spirit, *as well as in body*; and as bearing *in his body*, like St. Paul, the marks or stigmata of the Lord JESUS (vv. 29-32); as keeping *his flesh* chaste, from love of the Lord, preparing it to be the temple of the Holy Ghost, and offering it as a living sacrifice (*hostiam vivam*), well pleasing to God (vv. 37-40). He boldly preaches to the Gentiles the Name of the Lord (v. 49); he despises all the glory of this world for the sake of God's law (v. 53); he stands unmoved under the thunder of the world, rejoicing to suffer affliction for Christ (v. 55-56); he is the good and faithful shepherd of the Gospel sheep, chosen by God to watch over His people, and to feed them with holy doctrine (v. 57 and 59); Christ has appointed him His Vicar on earth (v. 81); he sings the Hymns, the Apocalypse, the Psalms, and explains them to the people for their edification (v. 85-6); he prays without ceasing day and night; and lastly, when hereafter he shall receive the reward of his labour, *he will reign* with the Apostles, a saint over Israel, for ever,—

Cujus ingentis laboris *percepturus* præmium  
Cum apostolis regnabit sanctus super Israel.

It is difficult to suppose this language to have been written except in the lifetime of him to whose praise the Hymn is dedicated, unless we assume that the author of the Hymn, living at a later period, intended to impose it upon the Church as the work of a contemporary of St. Patrick.

The author of the Preface gives a somewhat unamiable view of St. Patrick's character in his account of his wrath against St. Sechnall, and of the manner in which he endeavoured to punish his disciple. The Lives of St. Patrick, published by Colgan, do not contain any authority for the statement, that St. Sechnall quitted the very altar in the most solemn part of the Mass, in order to meet St. Patrick, and cast himself at his feet; that St. Patrick, disregarding this act of reverence for his person, endeavoured, in his wrath, to drive his chariot over the prostrate Sechnall, whose life was saved by a sudden miracle, and that a reconciliation was effected by the interven-



tion of St. Patrick's guardian angel,—and immediately afterwards a choir of angels was heard chanting a hymn in the church. These particulars are also omitted in the Preface to this Hymn, as it is published by Colgan.

Nevertheless, in the Tripartite Life we find two instances in which St. Patrick is represented to have driven his chariot in wrath over an offending and prostrate suppliant.

The first of these is the case of St. Olcan, Bishop of Rathmuighe, or Arthir-muighe (Armoyn, county Antrim), who had offended his master by receiving into communion Saran, a prince of Dalaradia, whom Patrick had excommunicated. The matter had been reported to St. Patrick (as the author of the Tripartite Life suggests), with some exaggeration<sup>1</sup>; and Olcan, having heard of this misunderstanding, made every haste to appease his master's wrath, and when he came in sight of the chariot fell on his knees to demand an audience. This was refused, and St. Olcan then cast himself prostrate on the public road. The charioteer seeing this, stopped, but was immediately commanded by St. Patrick to drive on<sup>2</sup>. He hesitated to do so, and the delay thus occasioned led to an explanation, which ended in a prophecy that St. Olcan's church should be three times destroyed and polluted with blood, as the punishment of his fault.

The second case is that of St. Patrick's sister or relative (for the Irish word for sister frequently signifies a more distant consanguinity), who, although of a religious profession (*femina pia et devota et probatæ alias sanctitatis*), had fallen into sin, and broken her vows<sup>3</sup>. In a word, she had become the mother of a son, who was afterwards eminent for sanctity. Repenting, however, of her guilt, with sackcloth and ashes, she cast herself prostrate before St. Patrick's chariot in the public road, beseeching him to pardon her grievous offence. The saint, however, drove his chariot over her. She rose up bruised and injured, and cast herself again before the chariot; a second time St. Patrick drove over her. This was repeated a third time; and the penitent, having sustained this ordeal, was at length restored to favour<sup>4</sup>.

The story told of St. Sechnall in the legend before us is strictly in the spirit of these anecdotes, and is apparently founded upon them.

<sup>1</sup> *Exaggeration.*—Postquam hoc factum, forte aliter quam sit gestum, ad aures S. Patricii, qui antea Saranum obstinatum et persecutorem, maledictionis jaculo ferit, esset delatum.—*Vit. Trip.*, p. 147.

<sup>2</sup> *To drive on.*—Ad Sanctum ergo Patricium placandum, quanto citius accurrit; et cum pervenisset in conspectum, genuflectendo paulatim accedit, et ita tandem errati supplex et penitens veniam exposcit; quod Sancto Patricio in curru procedenti, et alloquium neganti prostratum in via publica se objecerit. Cum autem auriga ad talem conspectum currum

stetisset, *severus Senior mandat currum agat, susceptumque iter prosequatur.* Ille humiliter excusat, dicens, se non audere, ne scelus admittat, ad prostratam, et in viâ objectam Episcopi personam non respiciens. Tunc rigidus magister, &c.—*Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Broken her vows.*—Quæ, quia incauta non evitavit fugienda virorum consortia, contra Deo consecratæ castitatis propositum peccavit.—*Vit. Trip.* iii. c. 76, p. 163.

<sup>4</sup> *Restored to favour.*—Et cum S. Antistitem iter agentem, ad cujus præsentiam ante non audebat

## NOTE C.

*The Post-Communion Hymn, "Sancti venite."*

A VERY interesting part of the legend preserved in the Preface of the *Leabhar Breac*, is that which speaks of a choir of angels, heard in the Church of St. Sechnall, chanting the Hymn *Sancti Venite Christi corpus*,—which Hymn, the writer tells us, has ever since been sung in the Irish Church, whilst the communicants are receiving the Body of Christ.

This is curious information, as recording a peculiarity of the Irish ritual at the time when the Preface in the *Leabhar Breac* was written; for it seems reasonable to conclude that when the writer speaks of this hymn as being chanted "*in Erin*" at the Communion, and when he attributes the origin of the custom to the choir of Angels, he means to account for a practice then, and for some considerable time before his own age, existing in the Irish Church.

And it is remarkable that the Hymn in question is known only from its having been preserved in an Irish authority,—viz. the *Antiphonarium Benchorensē*<sup>b</sup>, a fact which proves it to be of considerable antiquity, and also to be peculiar to the Church of Ireland. It is worthy of notice, however, that this Hymn does not occur in the Dublin copy of the *Liber Hymnorum*, but as that MS. has suffered mutilation, we cannot infer that it never was in the collection.

The Hymn is entitled<sup>c</sup>, "*Hymnus quando communicarent Sacerdotes*," and is as follows:—

Sancti venite,  
Christi corpus sumite;  
Sanctum bibentes,  
Quo redempti sanguinem.

Salvati Christi  
Corpore et sanguine,  
A quo refecti,  
Laudes dicamus Deo.

Hoc sacramento  
Corporis et sanguinis.  
Omnes exuti  
Ab inferni faucibus.  
  
Dator salutis,  
Christus filius Dei,  
Mundum salvavit,  
Per crucem et sanguinem.

accedere, audiret in vicinia esse, ei lachrymis offusa occurrit; et in via publica ante currum ejus se prosternit, tantæ offensæ veniam deprecans. Vir autem sanctus curat currum super eam minari. Et dum sic prostrata resurgit, iterato se ante currum in terram prostrata objicit. Idem pia femina et poenitentiae speculum tertio facit; et tertio rigidus, severusque poenitentialis disciplinae Magister curat currum supra jacentem agitari.—*Ibid.*

<sup>b</sup> *Antiphonarium Benchorensē*.—Muratori Op., tom. xi., part 3, p. 224.

<sup>c</sup> *Is entitled*.—Daniel has printed this Hymn. *Thes. Hymnol.*, vol. i. p. 193. He remarks upon the title "Quod hymno, nobili quadam simplicitate conspicio, inscriptum est, hoc recentioris ætatis putaverim. Spectat carmen procul dubio (v. 25, 36, e. a.), ad omnes Christianos, qui tunc temporis sub utraque specie Christum suum acceperunt."

Pro universis  
 Immolatus Dominus,  
 Ipse Sacerdos  
 Existit et hostia.  
 Lege preceptum  
 Immolari hostias,  
 Qua adumbrantur  
 Divina mysteria.  
 Lucis indultor  
 Et salvator omnium,  
 Præclaram sanctis  
 Largitus est gratiam.  
 Accedant omnes  
 Pura mente creduli,

Sumant æternam  
 Salutis custodiam.  
 Sanctorum custos,  
 Rector quoque Dominus  
 Vitæ perennis  
 Largitur credentibus.  
 Cœlestem panem  
 Dat esurientibus,  
 De fonte vivo  
 Prebet sitientibus.  
 Alpha et omega  
 Ipse Christus Dominus  
 Venit, venturus  
 Judicare homines.

The Preface in the *Leabhar Breac*, which has been published in Note A, has been supposed by the best Irish scholars, judging from its language and style, to be a composition of about the seventh or eighth century; and it is no small confirmation of its claim to this high antiquity that it speaks of this Hymn as still in use in the Irish Church. But no trace of the Hymn it is to be found in the Breviaries and Antiphonaries of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, used in Ireland, of which several are preserved in the Library of Trinity College; nor in the Antiphony of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin (a MS. of the thirteenth century), in the possession of the Editor. The same remark applies also to the Hymn of St. Sechnall. No trace of its use is found in any of the ancient ritual books of the Anglo-Irish Church to which the Editor has access.

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#### NOTE D.

##### *The Relics of Armagh.*

THE author of the Preface in the *Leabhar Breac* appears to intimate that a pilgrimage to Rome was imposed upon St. Sechnall by his offended master as a penance for his fault; and that "the relics of Paul, Peter, and other martyrs," brought by St. Sechnall from Rome on this occasion, were preserved at Armagh down to his own time, "in the shrine of Paul and Peter."

The Lives of St. Patrick make no mention of this mission of St. Sechnall, but state that the relics at Armagh had been, by "a pious theft" [*pio astu furtove, sacrorum locorum custodibus nescientibus et dormientibus*], brought from Rome by Patrick

himself<sup>d</sup>, who, at an advanced age, was commanded by an angel to undertake the journey for that express purpose; and who, on his return, deposited them (inter quæ erant reliquæ Apostolorum Petri et Pauli et Stephani Protomartyris, et aliorum plurimorum martyrum), at Armagh, and constituted that church the Metropolitan See of Ireland. This is Jocelin's account. The Tripartite Life adds, that Patrick, during his absence, constituted St. Sechnall Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland in his stead<sup>e</sup>.

The ancient scholiast on St. Fiech's Hymn states that St. Patrick came to Ireland in the first year of Pope Sixtus, the successor of Celestinus, and that Sixtus gave him some of the relics of Peter and Paul, with many books,—“Sixtus vero ei [Celestino] successit, in cujus primo anno Patricius venit ad Hiberniam; et ipse perhumaniter tractavit Patricium, et dedit ipsi partem reliquiarum Petri et Pauli, et libros multos.”—*Colgan*. p. 5. It would seem, therefore, that St. Patrick, according to these testimonies, brought to Ireland two different sets of relics, first those *given* to him by Pope Sixtus on his coming to Ireland, and secondly<sup>f</sup>, those which he obtained *pio furto*, on his visit to Rome at a later period of his life.

The Tripartite Life tells us further, that, even in the lifetime of St. Patrick, the relics of Armagh, from the negligence or fault of their guardians, were lost<sup>g</sup>, “ut in suo sacrario quæsita et undique conquisita nusquam potuerint reperiri,” and that St. Patrick, knowing that they had been miraculously conveyed away by angels to their original depository at Rome, sent messengers to the Sovereign Pontiff to ask for their restoration. It is not said, however, that St. Sechnall was sent on this mission; the relics were sent back with an injunction to keep a stricter watch over them; and we are told that this was the origin of the custom of exhibiting them annually, on certain great festivals, to the people. But of this custom the author of the Preface takes no notice, although he tells us expressly that the relics brought from Rome by St. Sechnall were preserved at Armagh in his own time.

In the Gloss of the Felire or Martyrology of Aengus the Culdee, in the *Leabhar*

<sup>d</sup> *By St. Patrick himself.*—Jocel. c. 166 (*Colgan*, p. 101). Vit. Trip., part. 3, c. 81 (*Colgan*, p. 164). The Third Life makes also the same statement (c. 84, *Colgan*, p. 28)—“Post hæc prospero itinere perrexit Patricius Romam; et attulit inde reliquias Petri et Pauli Apostolorum, et Stephani Protomartyris; et quod his majus est, attulit linteamen, super quod fuit sanguis Jesu Christi Domini nostri.”

<sup>e</sup> *In his stead.*—This is the reason why in the ancient lists of the Archbishops of Armagh (see *Colgan*, p. 292) we find the name of St. Secundinus as St. Patrick's immediate successor, although the testimony of all the authorities makes Secundinus

to have died before St. Patrick.

<sup>f</sup> *Secondly.*—The Tripartite Life tells us that these second relics were in number 365. “Nec solum pretiosa, sed et numerosa erant hæc spolia; continebant enim variorum sanctorum trecentas sexaginta quinque reliquias diversas; inter quas principem locum obtinebat linteamen sacratissimo D. N. Jesu Christi sanguine cruentatum, et pars capillorum Virginis Matris.” [Of these, however, the author of our Preface makes no mention.] “Inter eas etiam erant sanctorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum,” &c.—*Vit. Trip.* iii. c. 82.

<sup>g</sup> *Were lost.*—See *Vit. Tripart.* iii. c. 78.



*Breac*, the commemoration of the relics preserved at the monastery of Tamhlacht, or Tallaght, near Dublin, is thus recorded on the 1st of October:—

Peil noempetei napal  
in oetimpeti etan.

The festival of the noble holy relics [or saint-relics]  
[Is celebrated] in the beginning of October.

Upon which the interlineary Gloss notes,—1. ταιρι Μυρε οίγε γ na napptol γ na nuile maptip γ noem Epinn apcena po tinolta hi Tamhlachtu ipm pe rin—i. e. “The relics of Mary the Virgin, and of the Apostles, and of all the Martyrs and Saints of Erin likewise, were collected in Tamhlacht at that time,” viz. on the 1st of October. And a note on the lower margin, in a mixture of Latin and Irish, adds:—

“Adventus reliquiarum Jesu Christi et Mariæ Virginis, et prophetarum et apostolorum [Petri] et [Pauli]: eo pōte Μυρε γ na nuile noē γ maptip γ na noem apcena. Oeup in ean do pōchta-  
cap ταιρι [Petari] γ [Pauli] eo pōte Μυρε γ na maptip moipe pīl ac pōm la Sechnall co hAp-  
machai. Ho ip and peim po pōpbanab pehc Moelnuam hi Tamhlachtai. Ho sin ip do mun-  
cip Thamlachta tuchtha na ταιρι γ ip accu aetac, ut dicunt alii. Abepat apate ip an Apo-  
Macha etac istæ reliquæ i pepm Petari γ Paul, oeup ipe Sechnall euc eat anall ad Hiber-  
niam et in hoc die venerunt.”

“The coming of the relics of Jesus Christ, and of Mary the Virgin, and of the Prophets, and the Apostles Peter and Paul, with the hair of Mary, and [the relics] of all the virgins, and martyrs, and saints together. And it was then the relics of Peter and Paul, with the hair of Mary, and of the great martyrs, that were at Rome, were brought by Sechnall to Ard Machai. Or it was then that the relics of Moelnuam were celebrated at Tamhlacht. Or it was to the family [i. e. the monks] of Tamhlacht the relics were given, and it is there they are, as others say. Others say that it is at Ard Macha these relics are, in the shrine of Peter and Paul, and it was Sechnall that brought them together into Ireland, and on this day they arrived,” i. e. on the 1st of October.

The *Felire* of Aengus was composed in the eighth century, and the gloss and scholia, in the copy of it preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*, were added at different times, between that period and the fourteenth century, which is the date of the MS. The tradition of the relics having been brought to Armagh by St. Sechnall seems to have been the only one known to the scholiast on the *Felire*; and we must, therefore, conclude that the *Lives* of St. Patrick (which attribute the importation of the relics to St. Patrick himself) have been since his time interpolated.

In the Antiphonary of Armagh preserved in the Library of Trinity College, a manuscript of the fifteenth century, there is an office for the commemoration of the relics; but it contains no allusion to St. Sechnall, or anything throwing light on this subject. It does not even state what the relics were.

On the whole, then, it appears, that, assuming the testimony of all these authorities to be true, we have—1. The relics brought to Armagh by St. Patrick at his first coming, according to the testimony of the scholiast on St. Fiech's Hymn. 2. Those brought by St. Patrick, after his visit to Rome, at an advanced period of his life, as recorded by Jocelin and the Tripartite. 3. Those brought by St. Sechnall, as stated by the Preface to the Hymn *Audite omnes*, in the *Leabhar Breac*, and by the Scholiast

to the Felire of Aengus. It is remarkable, however, that the authorities which mention the relics brought to Ireland by St. Patrick say nothing of the mission of St. Sechnall, whilst the authors who speak of the relics brought by St. Sechnall do not appear to be aware of those previously deposited at Armagh by St. Patrick. Is this a proof that the Tripartite Life, which is the oldest authority for this last importation of relics, has been interpolated in the copy which Colgan has translated? The Irish Tripartite Life in the British Museum (of which a beautiful copy by Mr. Curry is in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy) has no mention of the relics.

## NOTE E.

*Of the Metre of the Hymn.*

IT must be obvious to every classical scholar that the metre of this Hymn, if metre it can be called, where no quantities are observed, is founded upon the Trochaic tetrameter catalectic. The number of syllables in each verse is the same as in that metre, and the *ictus*, which does not, however, always coincide with the accent, is also the same,—falling upon the first syllables of the first, third, fifth, and seventh feet. The catalectic syllable also is to be found in every line; and it is remarkable that the second syllable of the seventh foot is always short. This is the only instance in which prosody is regularly observed; and there is no example in the Hymn of the violation of this rule, except in line 66, where we have *indutus* pronounced *indütus*, perhaps by a mistake as to the prosody of the word by the author. The elision of vowels, or of syllables ending in *m*, before a vowel, is entirely disregarded,—of this we have instances in almost every line—

Aúdi,te om|nēs a|mantes || Déum, | sancta | méri,ta  
Viri | in Chris|tó be|ati || Pátri|cē e|píscō|pi.

In the words *Patricii*, in line 2, and *Navigii*, line 19, we must either read, *Patrici*, *Navigi*, or else *Patric-ji*, *Navig-ji*, so as to make three syllables.

*Cuius* appears to have been made a trisyllable in some places by the author, as verse 36,

Cui|us mul|tipli|cantur || ut man|na in mani|bus;

but the transcribers not being accustomed to this, and supposing the line to want a syllable, have inserted *que* or *in*, as in verses 7, 11, 12, 31, 32; nevertheless, *cuius* is a dissyllable in verses 6, 74, 78, where there is no reason to suspect any corrupt transcription. In line 54 I have no doubt the original reading was—

Cuncta ad cuius mensuram aestimat quisquilla,

and that the reading *que cuncta* arose from mistaking *mensuram* in a contracted form for *mensam*. If this be so, *cuius* was here also a dissyllable.

In verse 60, if we retain the reading "tradidit," *suam* must be read as a monosyllable, like *swam*; but *tradit* is probably the true reading, for the reason stated in the note on that line. So in verse 68, we must either read *spiritali*, or pronounce "spirituali" as if written *spirit-wali*; for as the rhythm is to be measured by syllables, and not by feet, where no prosody is observed, we cannot solve such difficulties by the license allowed in regular metre of substituting equivalent feet for each other, as anapæsts for spondees, tribrachs for trochees, &c.

Dr. Zeuss, in his late learned work *Grammatica Celtica* (Lipsiæ, 1853), has some valuable remarks on the metre of hymns of this kind, and notices the existence of irregular assonances, examples of which are to be found in the hymns of St. Ambrose (who is said to have been the first to introduce hymns of this kind into the Church Service), and of St. Augustine. He calls attention especially to the alphabetical hymn written against the Donatists, by St. Augustine, which is in the popular syllabic rhythm, without metre, and of which every line ends in *e*.

Abundantia peccatorum solet fratres conturbare;  
Propter hoc Dominus noster voluit nos præmonere;  
Comparans regnum cælorum reticulo misso in mare  
Congreganti multos pisces, omne genus hic et inde. Etc.

Each letter of the alphabet contains twelve lines, and each line divides itself into two members, consisting of eight syllables each. Zeuss, having used the old edition of the works of St. Augustine, did not notice a distich, published in the Benedictine edition (August. Opp., tom. xi. p. 1), which is to be repeated in reciting the hymn before each stanza of twelve lines; its lines also end in *e*, but with a second assonance in the penultimate syllable.

Omnes qui gaudetis de pace  
Modo verum judicate.

The alphabet extends only from A to V; but at the end are 30 verses, containing an address from the Church, of which St. Augustine says in his *Retractations*, "Tres vero ultimas [literas] omisi, sed pro eis novissimum quasi epilogum adjunxi, tanquam eos mater alloqueretur ecclesia." This Epilogue begins—

Audite fratres quod dico, et mihi irasci nolite,

and exhibits the same peculiarity of every line ending in *e*.

In this Hymn or Psalm, as it is called, the *m* is sometimes elided before vowels, although not always, and *i* before vowels (as Zeuss has remarked) is pronounced *j*, so as to make one syllable in such words as abundant-ja, evangel-jum, eccles-jam, djabolo, tradit-jone, al-jos, &c. We have seen that a similar pronunciation is occasionally adopted in the Hymn of St. Sechnall.

Zeuss has taken notice of the frequent occurrence of assonances in this latter Hymn, which he cites from the reprint of it in Gallandus (Bibl. Patr. x. 183). He instances in the first two stanzas—

Audite | omnes | amantes || Deum, sancta merita  
 Viri in Christo beati || Patrici | episcopi,  
 Quomodo bonum ob | actum || similatur | angelis,  
 Perfectamque propter vitam || | aequatur | apostolis.  
 Beata | Christi | custodit | mandata in omnibus,  
 | Cujus | opera refulgent || | clara inter | homines  
 | Sanctumque ejus | sequuntur | exemplum | mirificum  
 Unde et in coelis patrem || magnificent dominum.

It may be doubted, however, how far these jingles should be regarded as any part of the *rule* of this species of poetry; for they occur without any regular law, and in some stanzas are entirely wanting (e. g. Stroph. C, D.). The fact is, that they were not avoided as in the classical Latin poetry, but were rather regarded as a beauty, and their recurrence at irregular intervals was therefore allowable, and perhaps sought for, although not necessary.

In the verses which occur at the end of the Hymn the gradual improvement of the assonances is observable,—for one copy, probably the more ancient one, reads—

Patricii laudes semper dicamus  
 Ut nos cum illo defendat Deus,

where the poet was content with an assonance in the single syllable *us*. But another MS. has the improved rhyme on two syllables—

Patricii laudes semper dicamus  
 Ut nos cum illo semper vivamus.

In this distich it is evident that Patricii must be read Patricî, or Patric-ji.

In another of these “epilogues” the assonance in every line is in the syllable *us* :

Patricius episcopus  
 Oret pro nobis omnibus,  
 Ut deleantur protinus  
 Peccata quæ commisimus.

The reader will find a valuable dissertation on the ancient Rhythmical Latin Hymns in Muratori’s *Antiquitt. Ital. Med. Ævi., Dissert. xl.*

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#### NOTE F.

*Of the Notice of the Hymn in the Book of Armagh. The fourfold honour of St. Patrick.*

In addition to what has been said in the ancient Preface (see p. 33) on the subject of the privilege or indulgence granted by St. Patrick to those who recite this Hymn, or the last three verses of it, it seems desirable to preserve here the curious notice of the Hymn found in the MS. called the Canoin Phadruic (Canon of Patrick), or Book of Armagh; the word *Canon* being doubtless used to signify a collection of sacred books.



Dr. Graves in his valuable paper on the age of this MS., in the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy (vol. iii. p. 316), has shown, with great probability, that the book was written A.D. 807, and that it is in the handwriting of Ferdomhnach, a celebrated scribe of Armagh, who died in the middle of the ninth century. He remarks, however, that there are indications throughout the MS., in very many places, of its having been transcribed from documents that were even then regarded as of great antiquity, and which had in several passages become obscure.

This MS. is supposed to be the book mentioned by St. Bernard as being the autograph of St. Patrick (*Vit. S. Malach. c. v.*), and the opinion that it was in the handwriting of the Apostle of Ireland prevailed almost to our own times. This opinion probably owed its origin to the name Canon of Patrick, by which the book was commonly known; but there is grave suspicion that some of the erasures made in the volume (although of much more recent date) were intended to prop up this fiction. The existence of the opinion, however, in the age of St. Bernard is a singular evidence of the antiquity of the MS.; and it is not improbable that the copy of the New Testament which it contains was transcribed from one of the MSS. brought to Ireland by St. Patrick. See what Dr. Petrie has said of this volume, in his learned Essay on the Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland (Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. xx. p. 329).

The following notice of the Hymn of St. Patrick occurs in this ancient MS., fol. 16, a. a. :—

	Ḥatrickur p̄r ēp̄r honorem quaternum
	omnibur monasteriur ⁊ aedleppur p̄r totam
	hiberniam debet habere .i. ep̄
i.	Sollemnitate dormitionis eius hono-
	riari in medio uerur p̄r .iii. dies ⁊ .iii. noc-
	ter omni bono cibo p̄r carnem q̄r patrickur
ii.	ueniret in uita in iortium
iii.	Offeritorium eius proprium in eodem die immolari.
iiii.	Œnnum eius p̄r totum tempus cantare.
v.	Canticum eius poetticum p̄mper canere.
	Sic omniur .iiii. p̄ta habere debet et p̄d-
	bi a monachis p̄r p̄bi qui aedleppam
Œnnur	p̄ndauit uel monasterium ⁊ qui habet
Colmanado	p̄p̄chiam et p̄gioner multar .iiii.
	p̄p̄dicta habere debet in honore.

This curious notice is valuable from its antiquity, and proves, beyond all reasonable doubt, that the Hymn was known, and its recitation enjoined as a pious practice, as early as the close of the eighth century, in Ireland.

The manner of keeping the festival of St. Patrick for three days and three nights, "with all good food, except flesh"—omni bono cibo præter carnem—(the festival

always falling within Lent),—and “as if Patrick had come in life to the door,”—quasi Patricius venisset in vita in hostium [i. e. in ostium]—reminds us of the ancient Jewish practice of reserving a seat for Elias at the ceremony of Circumcision, thus calling him to witness the exact observance of the Law, or lest he should<sup>b</sup> come to announce the Advent of Messiah during the solemnity.

The second mark of respect paid to St. Patrick was a special “offertorium,” to his honour on the day of his festival. The language is peculiar, “Offertorium ejus proprium *immolari*”<sup>i</sup>; but the meaning seems to be, that a special commemoration of him should be made in the Preface of the Mass, beginning “Vere dignum et justum est,” which in the Gothic and ancient Gallican Missals was termed “*Immolatio Missæ*,” and in which the proper prefaces commemorative of festivals and saints’ days are introduced.—See Mabillon, *De Liturg. Gallicana*, lib. iii. p. 188, sq., and 368–9.

The distinction between the *Hymnus* of St. Patrick and his *Scottic Canticum* is remarkable. The *Scottic Canticle*, written in the Irish language, and attributed to St. Patrick himself, is preserved in the *Liber Hymnorum*, and a more fit opportunity will, therefore, occur elsewhere of speaking of it. It was published for the first time by Dr. Petrie, in his valuable paper on the History and Antiquities of Tara Hill (*Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xviii.), and is of undoubted authenticity.

It will be observed also that the writer of this ancient note speaks of the Hymn of Patrick as well known, and as needing no farther or more particular description. It can scarcely be doubted that the “*Ymnus ejus*” is the same which stands first in the *Liber Hymnorum*, a MS. of not much later date than the Book of Armagh, and which is there entitled “*Ymnus Sancti Patricii episcopi Scotorum*.” This is a strong external evidence in favour of the antiquity and authenticity of the Hymn; and when we add to this the internal evidence of authenticity it exhibits,—viz. the style of the composition; the absence of all allusion to the more modern traditions contained in the extant lives of St. Patrick; the rude dialect of Latin in which it is composed, which, nevertheless, exhibits a certain knowledge of prosody and rhythm; the fact, also, that it attributes to its hero no miraculous powers, and does not even seem to speak of his ordinary success as a missionary, while it assumes throughout that he is

<sup>b</sup> *Lest he should come.*—There may, possibly, be some intimation here of an expectation that Patrick would come again to complete the deliverance of his disciples, on which may have been founded the tradition mentioned by Probus (l. ii. c. 33), that Patrick, as the Apostle of Ireland, is to be the Judge of the Irish people, according to the promise of our Lord to his Apostles, “*sedebitis super sedes duodecim*,” &c.—See note on line 92 of the Hymn, p. 22, *supra*. In the margin of the MS., on the same line with the words “*venisset in vita in hostium*,” is

what resembles the letter *ſ*, with a dot over it. This frequently occurs in the MS., in the handwriting of the original scribe, at passages where there is something obscure, or needing emendation.

<sup>i</sup> *Immolari.*—In the ancient Life of St. Patrick, in the Book of Armagh, this word is frequently used in the sense of *oblation*, or *gift*. Thus a benefactor is said “*immolare regiones*,” fol. 16; and “*immolare filium suum S. Patricio*,” fol. 9, 10; also “*ecclesiam Deo consecratam Patricioque immolare*,” fol. 17; “*immolare domum*,” fol. 11, et al. pass.

still living and in the flesh,—when, I say, we take into account all these circumstances, in conjunction with the distinct mention of the Hymn in so ancient an authority, we can scarcely doubt the truth of the tradition which ascribes its authorship to a contemporary and disciple of St. Patrick, whatever opinion we may adopt as to the exact age of Patrick himself.

It is remarkable, however, that the Latin Hymn is described as appointed to be sung “per totum tempus,” that is, no doubt, during the whole time (the three days and three nights) of the festival of the Apostle, the “solempnitas dormitationis ejus.” But the Scottic Canticum is to be sung *semper*. Are we to infer from this, that this latter Song, in the vernacular Irish, was sung daily, or at all times during the year, in the ancient Irish monasteries, whilst the other was sung only during the festival of St. Patrick “in medio veris?” One reason of this difference may, probably, be, that the Scottic Song was the composition of St. Patrick himself, and was intended as a protection against the assaults of demons and magicians to the person of him who recited it.—See what Dr. Petrie has said of the virtue ascribed to it in his Essay on the History of Tara Hill.

The concluding paragraph of the note in the Book of Armagh appears to signify that the founder of every monastery or *Parochia* (a word which seems used in the Book of Armagh nearly as *Diocese*, territorial jurisdiction, monastic appropriation, endowment) is entitled to the same honours in his respective monastery, or *parish*, as those which all monasteries and churches throughout all Ireland render to St. Patrick. This paragraph may be translated thus :—

“In like manner every one who hath founded a church or a monastery ought to have, and there ought to be rendered unto him by his monks, the same four honours; and he who hath a parish and many regions ought to have the four aforesaid things in his honour.”

In the margin of this passage, on the same line with the words “fundavit vel monasterium et qui habet,” the original scribe has written—

ymnus  
Colmanale

which may, perhaps, be an allusion to a circumstance told by Jocelin, in his Life of St. Patrick, and repeated also, with some variations, in the Tripartite Life, and in the Life of St. Colman-Ela.

Jocelin states that St. Colman-Ela was in the habit of reciting the Hymn of Patrick (viz. the Hymn composed by St. Sechnall in honour of St. Patrick), instead of the usual hours and psalms; and tells the story thus :

“Quidam abbas de discipulis S. Patricii, Colmanus nomine, predictum hymnum crebro consuevit repetere. Qui cum conveniretur a discipulis, cur non potius horas constitutas, aut Psalmos decantaret, ac dicerent, hymnum semel cantatum sibi debere sufficere, respondit, se dum hymnum cantasset desideratum dilecti sui Patris Patricii jugiter vultum vidisse, nec tamen ex illius contemplatione satiari potuisse.”—*Sexta Vit. S. Patr. c. 179, p. 104.*

The Life of St. Colman-Ela, however (see the passage quoted above, p. 32, note), and the Tripartite Life, mention the circumstance as an event that happened on one occasion only, and do not attribute to the Saint the impropriety of omitting the usual ecclesiastical hours. The Tripartite says :

“Quādam enim vice dum S. Colmanellus curaret illum hymnum tribus vicibus a fratribus in refectorio decantari, S. Patricius in medio canentium stetit, ibique mansit donec quidam Laicus, qui adfuit, talio affectus, dixerat, Numquid habetis alios Hymnos vel cantiones, quibus Deum laudetis, præter unicum illum sæpius repetitum? Tunc autem S. Antistes evanuit.”—Part iii. c. 92, p. 166.

It is amusing to observe, that Jocelin makes the objection to proceed from the whole body of St. Colman's monks; the Life of St. Colman puts it into the mouth of one of them (the eldest of them) only, “senior ex illis;” but the Tripartite Life attributes it to a certain *layman*, “quidam laicus,” who was present, and who was wearied with the length of the psalmody.

St. Colman-Ela was said to have been foretold by St. Patrick, and the place where his church and monastery was to be built pointed out (Jocelin, c. 96, p. 87). It is probable, therefore, that he was known as especially zealous for the honour of St. Patrick, and that the note in the Book of Armagh, as well as the legend just alluded to, may have had its origin from that circumstance; unless we understand the note in the Book of Armagh as intended to intimate that St. Colman-Ela was entitled to the same fourfold honour as that given to St. Patrick, and that a hymn to his praise was then extant.

St. Colman-Ela, so called from *Fidh-ela*, the name of the place where his monastery was built, died, according to the Annals of the Four Masters, A. D. 610. He is called Colmanellus, and also Columbanus, in the Latinized forms of his name,—Colman and Columba being, in fact, the same name.

The following notice of him is given in the Martyrology of Donegal, at the 26th of September :

Colman eala, abb o Lann eala a peparib  
ceall m iaptauir Mhe. Do phioct Caedac  
mic Mhuirca da do fíol Eireimom dó, do  
taoib a acair, 7 deirbhíur do Colam éille a  
maeair .i. Mor mgen Feiblimid mic Fer-  
gusa Cennada, mic Conuill Gulban, mic  
Neill naoigiallaig, amail adeir beca Col-  
man pem, cap. i. Un. a aeir antan po fanó  
a ppirac bochum mhe. A. T. 610.

Colman-Eala, abbot of Lann-eala in Ferceall,  
in west Meath. On his father's side he was of  
the race of Eochaidh, son of Muiredach, of the race  
of Herimon; and his mother was a sister of S. Co-  
lumb-kille, viz. Mor, daughter of Feidhlimidh, son  
of Fergus Cenn-fada, son of Conall Gulban, son of  
Niall of the Nine Hostages, as the Life of this same  
Colman says, cap. i. He was fifty-two years old,  
when his spirit fled to heaven, A. D. 610.

<sup>i</sup> *Fidh-ela*, afterwards Lann-eala, now Lynally, near Tullamore, in the King's County.—See Ussher's Works (by Elrington), vol. vi. p. 530.

<sup>k</sup> *Ferceall*.—For the exact boundaries of this district, see Dr. O'Donovan's note, Annals of the Four Masters, A. D. 1216, p. 189.



## II. THE ALPHABETICAL HYMN IN PRAISE OF ST. BRIGID, ATTRIBUTED TO ST. ULTAN, BISHOP OF ARDBRECCAN.

THE following Hymn occurs at the end of a Life of St. Brigid, first published by Colgan, and attributed by him to St. Ultan, Bishop of Ardbreccan, who died A. D. 656 or 657. This Life he has printed from a MS. of the tenth or eleventh century, preserved in the Monastery of St. Magnus, at Ratisbon, in Bavaria, collated with four other MSS.<sup>1</sup>, especially a MS. belonging to the Monastery of St. Autbert, in Cambray, and another which he received from a monastery in the county of Longford.

In all these MSS. the work appears to be anonymous, but Colgan is led to attribute it to St. Ultan, principally on the authority of the Preface to the following Hymn in the *Liber Hymnorum*, which states that St. Ultan composed a Life of St. Brigid, and is by some supposed to have been the author of this Hymn in her praise. It is, therefore (he argues), most probable that the Life, of which the Hymn in question appears to be an integral part, is the Life composed by St. Ultan. The author was certainly an Irishman, for he speaks (in the Hymn) of *nostra Hibernia*; and he lived in very early times, for (in the Life of St. Brigid) he speaks of a "parrochia" and monastery in the district of Siol-Muredhaigh, in the diocese of Elphin, as being in existence, and dedicated

<sup>1</sup> *Four other MSS.*—Colgan has thus described these MSS.: "Unum exemplar hujus vitæ ex Codice Mon. S. Autberti Cameraci, ab antiquitatis magno veneratore et indagatori solerti D. Georgio Colverio, accepimus; aliud ex MS. Monast. Insule Sanctorum in Comitatu Longfordiæ in Hiberniæ; 3<sup>m</sup>. ex vetustis membranis Carthusiæ Coloniensis; 4<sup>m</sup>. quod hic damus, ex vetustissimo codice Monast. S. Magni Ratisponæ in Bavaria, caractere

Hibernico, et ut videtur ante sexcentos vel septingentos annos exarato: quintum habetur in monasterio Dunensi [? Bruges] in Flandria. Ex quibus vel satis facile colligitur authoris vetustas, cum pleraque ex his exemplaribus sint scripta ante annos quingentos et aliqua ante septingentos."—*Tr. Thaum.* p. 542. This Life has also been published by the Bollandists (at 1 Feb.) from a MS. in the Church of St. Omer's.

to St. Brigid, when he wrote,—“nam parrochia est magna hodie S. Brigidæ in illis regionibus”<sup>1</sup>. Some further observations on the authorship of the Hymn will be found in the Additional Notes.

It is an alphabetical Hymn, containing, however, only the last three letters, X, Y, Z<sup>2</sup>, together with what is called a first verse beginning *Audite virginis laudes*; which first verse, both in the *Liber Hymnorum*, and in the Life of Brigid published by Colgan, occurs after the three former.

It is certain that the line *Christus in nostra insula* was from very early times regarded as the beginning of the Hymn, for it is so quoted in an ancient collection of hymns which has been written in the beginning of a still more ancient copy of the Greek Psalter<sup>3</sup>, in Irish characters, preserved in the Library of Bâle (A. vii. 3). This remarkable MS. the Editor had the privilege of examining in the summer of 1852. The Psalter cannot be of later date than the ninth or tenth century; and the Hymns written in the first few leaves are in an Irish hand, not later than the twelfth century. The first Hymn is that beginning—

Cantemus in omni die  
Concinantes varie

which is given at full length. Then follows a prayer to the B. V. Mary, beginning “Singularis meriti, sola sine exemplo, mater et Virgo Maria.” Then the Hymn—

Alta audite TA EPFA  
Toto mundo micantia,

which is also given at full length; and then—

<sup>1</sup> *In illis regionibus*—cap. 9. (*Tr. Thaum.* p. 528). Colgan remarks on this passage (ii. 7, p. 543), “Unde author indicat se vetustum esse, dum dicit suo tempore illum districtum et ita amplum fuisse ut regiones ad cum pertinerent, et ad S. Brigidam spectasse; quandoquidem a multis seculis nec tam amplus fuerit, nec ad ordinem S. Brigidæ spectaverit.”

<sup>2</sup> X, Y, Z.—The indulgence granted to the repetition of the Hymn of St. Patrick (see above, p. 33) was ultimately conceded to the last three verses of it, viz. those be-

ginning with the letters X, Y, and Z; so that the repetition of these verses was equivalent to the repetition of the whole Hymn. Was it on this principle that the Hymn to St. Brigid contained only the verses beginning with the last three letters of the alphabet?

<sup>3</sup> *Greek Psalter*.—Dr. Keller has given a fac-simile of the characters used in this Psalter, in his learned paper, “Bilder und Schriftzüge in den Irischen Manuscripten der Schweizerischen Bibliotheken,” p. 86, and Taf. xiii. 5. (*Mittheilungen der Antiq. Gesellschaft in Zurich*, vii. Band.)

item, xps in nostra insula que uocatur,

of which no more than these words are given, it being evidently then so well known that the writer did not deem it necessary to transcribe it at length. Then follows the verse :

Sancta virgo virginum Maria

Intercede pro nobis.

Incipit epistola salvatoris Domini nostri Ihu Xpi  
ad æ . . dgarum.

Deus meus et pater et filius et spiritus sanctus  
cui omnia subjecta sunt, cui omnis creatura deservit.

Over the words "sancta virgo," in the same handwriting, occurs the word "beatissima."

The above is probably a part of an ancient office, of which the Hymn *Christus in nostra insula* formed a part ; and it is curious that the Epistle of our Lord to Abgarus appears to have been used as a Lesson, which is a singular proof of the antiquity of the office.

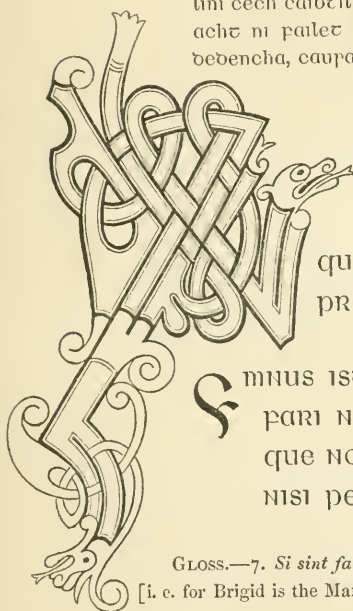
In the *Liber Hymnorum* the following Hymn is preceded by a short Preface, in Irish, which is here printed exactly as it stands, except that the contractions of the MS. are not preserved. The Hymn is accompanied by an occasional interlineary gloss, now for the first time printed, but it has no rubrical heading or general title. In Colgan's edition it is entitled "Hymnus de Brigidâ Virgine," but whether this title was added by himself, or was found by him in the MS. from which he printed, does not appear.

The care taken to ascertain the author of every Hymn, by prefixing the curious historical prefaces which occur in the *Liber Hymnorum*, was probably in compliance with the 23rd Canon of the second Council of Tours (A. D. 567), or with some corresponding ecclesiastical regulation which was of force in Ireland. This canon is as follows :—"Licet hymnos Ambrosianos habeamus in canone, tamen quoniam reliquorum sunt aliqui, qui digni sunt forma cantari, volumus libenter amplecti eos præterea, quorum auctorum nomina fuerint in limine prænotata : quoniam quæ fide constiterint dicendi ratione non obstant".

<sup>1</sup> Concil. Labb. et Cossart. tom. v. 863. The connexion between the Church of Ireland and the Church of Tours in early times is well known.



χρs IN NOSTRA. Nimmib lámibán mac echach ippe do rígní hunc sámmum do brígnit.  
Uel ip piac pleibte do rígne. Díeunt alí combab Ultan aipðbpeccan do gnet. Ar  
ipe po écelamartar perpa brígnit in oén lebor. Audite uirgínir lauder ipe a thorp-  
pach. Opð aipðitpech fair. Trí píthim dñá do rígned. Trí caibtil and, 7 cethrí  
líni cech caibtil 7 re pillaba déc cech líne. Díeunt alí combab móri mteimmunpa,  
acht ní failet pund acht cethrí caibtil de, .i. in cet caibtil, 7 na trí caibtil  
bedenchá, caupa bpeuitatir.



ps in nostra insola que uocatur hibernia  
ostensus est hominibus maximis mirabilibus  
que perfecit per felicem celestis uite uirginem  
precellentem pro merito magno in mundi circulo

S minus iste angelice summeque sancte brigitæ  
pari non ualet omnia uirtutum mirabilia  
que nostris nunquam auribus si sint facta audiuimus  
nisi per istam uirginem marie sancte similem

GLOSS.—7. *Si sint facta*.—i. ab alia uirgine. 8. *Similem*.—i. ap ipi brígnit maípe na ngoibet  
[i. e. for Brigid is the Mary of the Gaedhel (or Irish)].

1. *Christus in nostra*.—See a translation of the Preface, with some observations and illustrations, in the Additional Notes. It will be observed that there is in this Hymn a rhyme or assonance in the middle and end of each line: *insola, Hibernia; hominibus, mirabilibus; felicem, uirginem; merito, circulo, &c.*

6. *Fari non ualet*.—This passage is probably the authority for Ware's assertion

that St. Ultan wrote an *alphabetical* narrative of the miracles of St. Brigid. He says,—“Ultanus mac Conchubhair episcopus Ardracannensis miracula Brigidæ in unum collegit librum, ordine alphabetico”—*De scriptoribus Hiberniæ*, c. iii.; but the book of miracles was certainly not the same as the alphabetical hymn, and was, in all probability, in Irish.

8. *Marie sancte*.—See the Gloss, and



Cōna sancte militie sanctos lumbos precingere  
 consuevit diurno nocturno quoque studio 10  
 consummato certamine sumpsit palmam uictorie  
 refulgens magno splendore ut sol in coeli culmine

Audite uirginis laudes sancta quoque merita  
 perfectionem quam promisit uiriliter impleuit  
 xpi matrem se spondit dictis et fecit factis 15  
 brigida aut amata ueri dei regina

Brigida pancta pedulo pite in nocturno auxilio ut mercedem  
 coronam habere ac letitiam in conspectu angelorum in pecula  
 peculorum.

GLOSS.—9. *Militie*.—i. contra diabulum et uitia. *Lumbos*.—i. carnales voluntates. 11. *Certamine*.—i. mundi presentis, ut apostolus dicit, certamen bonum certavi, cursum consummavi. *Palmam*.—i. premium. *Victoria*.—i. ded. . . . . et vivis. 12. *Refulgens*.—i. ut dicitur, fulgebant iusti sicut sol in regno patris eorum. 13. *Laudes*, vel jura ip corp [or jura is the right reading]. *Sancta*.—i. brigide ano co po pcepab don merita tip [i.e. Brigid is implied in this, so as to answer to the *merita* below]. 14. *Perfectionem*.—Commabhe po corp ind line [this may be the correct form of this line]; i. perfectionem promisit quam uiriliter implebit. 15. *Dictis*.—Commab he po bna [it may be this, however,] dictis atque factis fecit. 16. *Regina*.—Vel et regina.

comp. v. 15. In the Additional Note B will be found some remarks on this title given to St. Brigid.

10. *Consuevit*.—This line seems imperfect, as it consists of fourteen instead of sixteen syllables; *consuevit* may have been read as if of four syllables, but this would still leave one syllable short. Perhaps we should read “et diurno.”

12. *Ut sol in*.—One of Colgan’s MSS. reads “et velut cœli culmine.”

13. *Audite*.—This stanza cannot have been by the same author as the foregoing. Neither the rhythm or assonances, nor the metre or number of syllables, is exactly observed. Verses 13 and 15 consist of but fifteen syllables, and verse 16 of

fourteen only. If we adopt the reading given by Colgan, suggested also in the Gloss on ver. 15, “dictis atque factis fecit,” the number of syllables in that line will be corrected. The suggestion of the scholiast’s preface (see p. 63), that the Hymn originally consisted of a *capitulum* for every letter of the alphabet, is unnecessary. Alphabetical poems containing stanzas for the last three letters of the alphabet only were common. See an example, *Irish version of Nennius*, Introd. p. 10. These three letters were selected because they were a triad, and because they began with the symbol or abbreviation for *Christus*.

16. *Aut amata*.—Colgan reads “automata,” and he has appended to the word the

following note : “ *Brigida autumata*.—In Codice Hibernico [i.e., I presume, the MS. of the Tertia Vita, which he had obtained from the monastery in the county of Longford] *Antomata* : rectius forte *automata*, quæ vox significat instrumenta mechanica ita subtiliter et artificiose fabricata, ut sua sponte, seu se ipsis nullaque apparente causa vel motore moveantur; *αὐτοματων* enim idem est quod *ultroneum*, seu *suæ spontis*”—(*Tr. Thaum.*, p. 545). He does not, however, explain what the meaning of the verse will be if we adopt this reading :—“Brigid of her own will the Queen of the true God,” seems strange theology, if, indeed, it have any meaning. But it is singular that Colgan (apparently without knowing it) gives, as if it had been in his text, what is unquestionably the true reading, *Brigida autumata* : of

which “aut amata” is evidently a corruption :—“Brigid, who is esteemed, or believed to be, the Queen of the true God.” In Colgan’s copy there is a reference from the word *Dei* to the words “al. *Cæll*,” in the margin. This is, no doubt, an error of the press for *Cæli* : but *veri* is inconsistent with this reading, as we can scarcely suppose the author to have written “*veri* cæli regina.” We must therefore regard *cæli* as the suggestion of some transcriber or scholiast, who did not feel quite satisfied with the phrase “*veri Dei Regina*.”

*Brigida sancta*.—These words seem to be the substance of a Collect, or Antiphon, in an ancient office of St. Brigid. Colgan evidently took them for a distich of the Hymn, and has printed them as such (see Add. Notes, p. 63).

## ADDITIONAL NOTES.

### NOTE A.

#### *The Preface to the Hymn.*

THE following is a literal translation of the historical Preface or Introduction to this Hymn:—

“CHRISTUS IN NOSTRA. Ninnidh Laimidan, son of Eochadh, was he who made this Hymn in honour of Brigid. Or it was Fiach of Slebte that composed it. Dicunt alii, that it was Ultan of Ardbreccan who composed it: for it was he that put together the miracles of Brigid in one book. *Audite virginis laudes* is its beginning. The alphabetical order is in it. Moreover he composed it in rhythm. There are three chapters in it, and four lines in each chapter, and sixteen syllables in each line. Dicunt alii, that this Hymn was originally long, but that there remain here only four chapters of it, viz. the first chapter. and the last three chapters, causa brevitatis.”

Three writers are here named to whom the authorship of this Hymn was variously ascribed. The first is Ninnidh, Ninnidius, or Nennius, surnamed Laimidan [Laim 100han] *of the undefiled hand*, from a circumstance recorded in the Lives of St. Brigid. His first meeting with her, when a youth, is thus described in the ancient Life which Colgan attributes to St. Ultan (cap. 78):—

“Quadam die S. Brigida cum suis virginibus ambulabat in loco campestri, et vidit quendam juvenem scholasticum, currentem velociter; et ait illi, Juvenis, quo tu curris tam cito. Ille respondit, dicens, Ad regnum Dei. Dixitque ei Brigida, Utinam merear tecum currere: ora pro me, ut istud valeam. Respondit scholasticus, Tu roga Deum, ut cursus meus non impediatur, et ego vicissim pro te rogabo ut tu et mille comites tecum vadant ad regnum Dei. Tunc S. Brigida pro juvene rogavit Dominum: et in illis diebus ipse pocuitentiam egit, et fuit religiosus usque ad mortem suam.”

The later lives add to this simple narrative that the young scholar was Ninnidh, son of Eochaidh, afterwards abbot of Inis-muighe-samh [now Inishmaesaint], an island in Loch Erne, and that Brigid on this occasion predicted that from his hand she herself should receive the holy viaticum on the day of her death. On hearing this prophecy Ninnidh enclosed his right hand in a brazen (others say a silver) case, which he kept

continually locked, lest the hand destined to give the holy Communion to St. Brigid should ever be defiled by the touch of anything unclean. From this circumstance he derived the appellation of "Ninnidh of the undefiled hand"<sup>a</sup>.

St. Brigid is supposed to have died A. D. 523, and Ninnidh, as we learn from his genealogy, was the fifth in lineal descent from King Loegaire, who flourished in the time of St. Patrick. He may therefore have lived until the middle of the sixth century. See his Life collected by Colgan at the 18th of January.

The second author to whom the Hymn is ascribed is Fiach, Bishop of Sletty, the same who composed the Irish poem in praise of St. Patrick, which Colgan has published as the first Life of that saint. This author died about A. D. 530. See Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.*, pp. 4 and 217.

The third author is St. Ultan, Bishop of Ardbraccan in Meath, who died at a great age A. D. 656.

The claims of this last author are by Colgan strongly preferred, on the ground that he is stated by the ancient scholiast, or author of the Preface, to have composed a Life of St. Brigid; and as the ancient Life<sup>b</sup> found in the monastery of St. Magnus, at Ratis-

<sup>a</sup> *Of the undefiled hand.*—The story is thus told by the author of the fourth Life, which Colgan attributes to Anmchad or Animosus—"Ninnidius volens ab illa die manum suam mundissimam servare, de qua beatissima Brigida prædixit, ut in die exitus sui divinum viaticum sumeret, fecit circa eam aneam aretam manicam cum sera et clavi, ne illa corpus suum tangeret, neque de aliquo immundo tangeretur. Inde agnomen ipse habet: nam Scotice vocatur *Ninnidh lam glan*, quod sonat Latine Ninnidius manus mundæ."—Cap. 63, p. 559. According to the spelling of the name in the Liber Hymnorum, the etymology of it is lam rothian, rather than lam glan.

<sup>b</sup> *The ancient Life.*—In the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, there is a paper copy of this Life, taken in the seventeenth century from an ancient MS. in the Cottonian Library. It has been collated throughout by Archbishop Ussher in his own hand, and various readings added in the margin; and it appears from the following autograph note in the beginning, that Ussher also was disposed to regard it as St. Ultan's. He says: "Descripta est Vita hæc Brigidæ ex antiquo MS<sup>o</sup> Bibliothecæ Cottonianæ, cui consimilis, sed aliquanto plenior, habetur in vetus-

tissimo Codice cœnobii S. Magni, Canonicorum Regularium B. Augustini ad pedem pontis Ratisbonæ in Bavariâ. Ad cujus finem habetur Hymnus in Laudem Brigidæ, cujus initium 'Christus in nostra insula, Quæ vocatur Hibernia, &c.' quem in aliis codicibus Ultano Ardbraccanensi attributum invenimus virtutum S. Brigidæ scriptori, quem hujus Vitæ authorem fuisse omnino existimamus. Unde ex Stephani Viti apographo, variantes lectiones ad marginem apposuimus: additis hic capitibus illis quæ a codice Cottoniano absunt."

This MS. does not contain the Hymn at the end: and it also omits several chapters, amongst others the following (adopting Colgan's numbering)—c. 14, 28, part of c. 46, c. 47, 48, 55, 68, 69, 70, 78, 79.

The Bollandists have published this Life as of an anonymous author, without noticing the opinion of Colgan that St. Ultan was the author. They have edited it from a MS. in the Church of St. Omer's, which does not appear to have had the Hymn at the end. At least the Editor has made no mention whatsoever of the Hymn, either at the end of the Life, or in his Prolegomena, but passes it over in complete silence, as if ignorant of its existence.—*Act. Sanctorum*, tom i. Febr. p. 118 sq.



bon, contains at the end this very Hymn, Colgan draws the double conclusion; first, that that Life is the work of St. Ultan alluded to by the scholiast, and second, that St. Ultan was therefore the author of the Hymn. He says:—

“ Porro S. Ultanum esse authorem illius hymni, et per consequens hujus Vitæ, colligimus ex vetusto Scholiaste ejusdem hymni . . . . . Nam licet ipse ibi dubitet an S. Nennidius, an S. Fiegus, an potius S. Ultanus sit author istius hymni, colligitur tamen ex verbis ejus S. Ultanum esse et hymni et vitæ hujus authorem: cum dicat ipsum et hymnum in laudem S. Brigidæ scripsisse, et hymnus idem, quem ille citat, uno volumine habeantur; et utrumque juxta dicta, ab eodem autore sit conscriptum; relinquitur quod S. Ultanus sit author utriusque, non vero quispiam ex illis aliis, qui nusquam leguntur Vitam S. Brigidæ uno vel pluribus libris scripsisse.”—*Tr. Thaum.*, p. 542.

The scholiast, however, does not say that St. Ultan composed a hymn in praise of St. Brigid; all he does assert is, that St. Ultan brought together into one book the miracles of Brigid, and that some have *therefore* supposed him to be the author of the hymn in question. In fact, Colgan's argument rests on a weak foundation; and we must content ourselves with leaving the question of the authorship of the Hymn in the same ambiguity and doubt in which it is left by the ancient scholiast; a doubt which must also attach itself to the authorship of the Life which Colgan has attributed to St. Ultan. For it is evident that he builds too much on the circumstance that the Hymn before us has been appended to this Life, and written by the ancient scribe as if it were a part of it. This appears to have been the case in one MS. only, and is certainly not the case in all the MSS. of that Life. Nothing was more common than to write such verses at the end of similar works; and an example of this custom is exhibited by Colgan himself, who has published from another MS. of this very same Life, a quite different set of verses, which were undoubtedly not written by St. Ultan, or at least not by the author of the Hymn.

It would seem that Colgan's MS. of the *Liber Hymnorum* had a Preface to the Hymn before us, which, although for substance the same, differed in some particulars from that now published. The following is his account of it (*Tr. Thaum.*, p. 545, note 80):—

“ Idem Hymnus habetur in Codice illo vulgari Hibernico quem nostri Antiquarii *Leabhur Iomann*, id est, *Liber Hymnorum*, vocant, in eo enim continentur multi hymni a diversis Hiberniæ sanctis compositi; et ex eo ultimum versum in codice S. Magni desideratum accepimus; in eoque huic nostro hymno vetustus Scholiastes prefigit hoc probemium seu argumentum. *Sanctus Nennidius laimh-iodhan, id est mundimanus, composuit hunc hymnum in laudem S. Brigidæ; vel sanctus Fiegus Sleptensis. Audite Virginis laudes est eius initium; vel S. Ultanus de Ardbreacain composuit in S. Brigidæ laudem: ipse enim com-*

---

*Habeantur.*—There is evidently some misprint, and very probably the omission of a line or two in this passage. This portion of Colgan's work is full of typographical blunders of the most careless de-

scription. He evidently meant to say that the Life by St. Ultan and the Hymn were to be found in the same volume. But this statement is not made in the Preface of the ancient scholiast.

*prehendit miracula S. Brigidæ uno libro. Ordo alphabeticus in eo servatur, et ad imitationem rithmi Noscarii compositus est. Quatuor sunt in eo capitula et quatuor lineæ in singulis capitulis, et sedecim syllabæ in qualibet lineâ."*

This agrees with the Preface of the Dublin MS., except as to the number of *capitula* of which the Hymn is said to consist. The Dublin copy gives two opinions on this point; one is that the Hymn had but three capitula, namely, the three which begin with the letters X, Y, and Z. The other opinion is, that the Hymn had originally a capitulum for every letter of the alphabet, but that of these only four now remain, viz. that beginning *Audite virginis laudes*, which was the first, and the three beginning with X, Y, and Z, which were the last, all the intervening capitula being lost.

Colgan's *Liber Hymnorum*, however, states that the Hymn has four capitula, without noticing any other opinion, and without intimating that it was originally longer, or that any of it was omitted or lost. Both Prefaces agree in excluding the lines beginning *Brigida sancta sedulo*, which are therefore no part of the Hymn, but are of the nature of an antiphon to be said after the Hymn.

It must be evident to the critical reader that the stanza *Audite* is a subsequent addition, and that the three preceding stanzas are in fact the Hymn, as stated in the Preface to the Dublin copy. The verses *Audite*, &c., do not obey the laws of the metre either as to assonances or number of syllables, and cannot therefore have been a part of the Hymn to which the other stanzas belonged.

With respect to the lines *Brigida sancta*, &c., Colgan tells us incidentally that they do not occur in the ancient Ratisbon MS. from which he edited this Life of St. Brigid. They are therefore probably of a later date. In the Dublin MS. they are written as prose, although they are evidently verses, and obey the laws of the metre both in number of syllables and in the assonances.

*Brigida sancta sedulo || sit nostro in auxilio  
Ut mercamur coronam || habere ac lætitiâ  
In conspectu Angelorum || in secula seculorum.*

Colgan adds the following, which does not occur in the Dublin copy, and which has too many syllables to be considered as the fourth line of the stanza:—

"Christe Jesu, author bonorum, miserere, obsecro, omnium."

But perhaps we should read,

"Christe Jesu, author bonorum, miserere, obsecro. Amen."

To this Colgan adds another short poem, or *carmen*, as he styles it, of higher pretensions, and of more elaborate composition. It is found in the MS. of the monastery of St. Autbert at Cambray, and is, in that MS. (as Colgan declares) attributed to the same author who composed the Life and the Hymn.

Brigida nomen habet, gemino et diademate fulget,	Divitias, pompas, horruit et fragiles.
Quam colimus fratres, Brigida nomen habet.	Gaudia perpetuae spectans et praemia vitae,
Virgo fuit Domini, mundo et crucifixa manebat,	Suscepit certae gaudia perpetuae.
Intus et exterius Virgo fuit Domini.	E superis resonat intus cum sedibus Echo
Despicebat ovans instantis gaudia Vitae,	Tubarum sublimis <sup>1</sup> , e superis resonat.
Et falsos fastus despicebat ovans.	Mitte beata preces, pro nobis, Virgo benigna
Horruit et fragiles mundi fallentis honores,	Ad Dominum semper mitte beata preces.

It is difficult to suppose that these verses are by the same author<sup>e</sup> who composed the rude lines that precede. They do not occur in the *Liber Hymnorum*.

With respect to the Metre of the Hymn, it is described in both copies of the Scholiast's Preface, as consisting of stanzas or capitula of four lines, with sixteen syllables in each line. But instead of the words in the Dublin MS., *Ἦπε πικρὸν ὄνα ὁ πνευ*, which appear to allude to the assonances in the middle and end of each line, Colgan's MS. seems to have had a different reading, which he translates, "et ad imitationem rithmi Noscarii compositus est." What the *Rithmus Noscarius* is, the Editor is unable to say. Could it be an error of the press for *Rythmus Nostratis*, intimating that the Irish rules of concord or alliteration in the initial consonants are observed? (See O'Donovan's Grammar, p. 413, 414). Thus, ver. 1 has *in, insola, Hibernia*; ver. 2 has *ostensus est, ho, m, m*; ver. 3 has *per, per, vi, vi*; ver. 4 has *pre, pro, m, m, m*, and so on.

#### NOTE B.

##### *St. Brigid the Mary of the Irish.*

IN the MS. called the *Leabhar Breac*, preserved in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, there is a panegyric or Life of St. Brigid, containing an abstract of her miracles, evidently drawn up from the Life which Colgan ascribes to St. Ultan. This piece, which, from its language, appears to be a production of not later than the tenth century, was obviously intended as a sort of sermon to be read to the people on the feast

<sup>d</sup> *Tubarum sublimis*.—This is obscure. Colgan proposes to read, "Cum tuba sublimis," and explains it thus: "quasi sensus sit, quod petat intercessionem Beatae Brigidæ, cum resonabit tuba supremi Judicii."—Not. 83, p. 545. But could it not mean "the sublime echo of trumpets?" A learned friend suggests that "certæ," in line 10, ought to be *castæ*, used as a substantive in the sense of *virginis*. He also proposes "tubarum limbis," for *tubarum sublimis*, in ver. 13.

<sup>e</sup> *Same author*.—Colgan says, "Huic carmini subscriptum reperio, quod sit ejusdem authoris, qui vitam præcedentem et hymnum composuit."—Note 82, p. 545. It is to be regretted that he did not give this *subscriptum* just as he found it. We are to conclude, it is presumed, that the MS. of St. Aubert's contains the hymn *Christus in nostra*, as well as the *Carmen*; but it would have been interesting to know whether this MS. had the supposititious stanzas, *Audite*, and *Brigida sancta*.

of St. Brigid. It contains, amongst other praises of her innumerable virtues, the following:—

Ni poibc tpa nech ba nairiu, na ba peli  
indap in noem oḡ iun. Ni po nḡeṛtap niam  
a lama, naé a corpa, naé a cenb, eṛip ḡeṛaib.  
Ni po ḡḡech ðim, riam in nḡuip ḡeṛpcaib.  
Ni po labra eṛip cen loṛpi ði. ba ham-  
tech, ba hendac, ba heṛnebach, ba poit-  
nech, ba palib i timnaib ðe, ba cobraib,  
ba humal. ba ðilḡebach ḡeḡeṛcach. ba  
compa coṛeapactha cometa cluipṛ Cṛipt.  
ba tempol ðe. ba nḡḡuibe tairuime ðon  
ṛṛiput noeb a cṛibe ocup a menma. ba  
ðunṛ ḡṛi ðia. ba corṛech ðo ḡṛoḡaib.  
ba hieṛpoche hi ṛeṛtaib. Iṛ aipe iun ipé  
a ṛamail eṛip ðálib, colun eṛeṛ énaib,  
ṛimemai eṛeṛ ḡeḡaib, ḡṛian uap ṛemnaib.

IS a haṛap na noem oḡṛipe, in taṛhap  
nemba. Iṛe a mac Iṛi Cṛipt, iṛe a haite  
in Spṛut noeb. Comb aipe iun ðo ḡim in  
noem oḡṛa na nṛbuli mopa ðiaṛmṛbe  
ṛi. IS hi ṛoṛtaḡeṛṛ ða ceé oen bṛi hi  
cunica ocup hi nḡuapachṛ. Iṛi tṛaechap  
na teḡmama, ip i toṛneṛ comḡap ocup  
ṛeṛḡ in mṛpa moṛi. Iṛi ṛeo ban tairnḡeṛ-  
taḡ Cṛipt. Iṛi nḡan in ḡeṛceṛt. Iṛi  
Muṛpe na nḡoebel.

This panegyrie is sufficiently extravagant:—that the Father of St. Brigid is the Heavenly Father; that her son is Jesus Christ; that she is the Queen of the South (see St. Matt. xii. 42) prophesied of by Christ; that she is the Mary of the Gaedhil or Irish. But the language used in some other authorities is still more strange, and seems at first sight to imply that she was the very Mother of Christ Himself, the same in form and feature, as if the B. V. Mary had reappeared on earth in the person of St. Brigid. Thus, in the third Life, ascribed to St. Ultan, and more at length in the Irish Life<sup>f</sup>, quoted by Colgan, we read :—That when she was quite a child, a certain

There was not in existence one of more bashful-  
ness and modesty than this holy Virgin. She never  
washed her hands, or her feet, or her head, before  
men. She never looked a man in the face. She  
never spoke without blushing. She was abstinent,  
unblemished, prayerful, patient, joying in the com-  
mandments of God, benevolent, humble, forgiving,  
charitable. She was a consecrated shrine for the  
preservation of the Body of Christ. She was a  
Temple of God. Her heart and her mind were a  
resting throne for the Holy Spirit. She was meek  
before God. She was distressed with the wretched.  
She was bright in mirades. And hence it is that  
her type among created things is the Dove among  
birds; the Vine among trees; and the Sun above  
the stars.

The Father of this holy Virgin was the Heavenly  
Father; her Son was Jesus Christ; her tutor was  
the Holy Spirit. And it was, therefore, that this  
holy Virgin performed those great innumerable  
miracles. It is she that relieves every one that is  
in difficulty and in danger. It is she that restrains  
the roaring billows, and the anger of the great sea.  
She is the prophesied woman of Christ. She is the  
Queen of the South. She is the Mary of the Gaedhil.

<sup>f</sup> *The Irish Life*.—The following is Colgan's ver-  
sion of this legend from his *Irish Life*;—"Ita vita  
Hibernica S. Brigidæ, c. 12. Quodam die virgo  
quedam Deo dicata venit ad Dubthacum petens ut  
St. Brigida secum proficisceretur ad quamdam syn-  
dolum Seniorum Iageniensium congregatam in

campo Liffé. Tunc in visione erat revelatum cui-  
dam Seniori, qui erat in Synodo, et vocabatur Hi-  
barus, quod S. Maria die sequenti erat ventura ad  
istam Synodum, ejus et speciem et formam aliis  
prænuñtiavit. Sequenti ergo die et illa alia Virgo et  
Brigida venerunt ad Synodum que tunc congregata



holy virgin [or widow] obtained permission to take St. Brigid with her to a Synod of the clergy of Leinster, which was to be held at the place afterwards called Kildare. An aged saint, who was present at the Synod, announced to the clergy that he had seen the B. V. Mary in a vision, and that on the following day she would appear in the midst of them. Accordingly, on the next day, St. Brigid and her companion arrived; and the aged saint, when he saw her, immediately cried out, This is holy Mary, whom I saw last night in my vision. "Then all the people gave praise to St. Brigid, on account of that name of Mary, which was then given her. And from thence she was called the Mary of the Irish." Or, as the author of the Third Life tells the story,— "Then the holy man said, 'This is Mary whom I saw, for I plainly recognise her form.' Then all gave glory unto her, as being in the shape of Mary." "Tunc omnes glorificaverunt eam, quasi in typo Mariæ"<sup>g</sup>.

Here when it is said that Brigid was "in the type of Mary," the meaning, perhaps, may be that she resembled in form and figure the Person of the Blessed Virgin; not that she was actually the Blessed Virgin, reappearing upon earth, but that, from the close resemblance of her features to those of Mary, and from her having been seen in the vision as Mary, and been called by the angel as "Holy Mary that dwells amongst you," she was saluted by the assembled Synod as Mary, and was thenceforth regarded as "the Mary of the Irish."

And in like manner other panegyrics give her the attributes of the B. V. Mary; for they call her "Mother of Christ," and "Mother of our Heavenly Lord." Thus, the ancient Irish Hymn<sup>h</sup> attributed to St. Columkille, but by some to St. Ultan, has the following words :

Oo pobba innunn ap colla cipu,  
in chpoeb co mblatharb, in machap lpu,  
mb up og mman co nopdbam abbail,  
biam poep cech mbaib lam noeb do laigmb.

She annihilates the sins of the flesh in us—  
This flowering Tree, this Mother of Jesus,  
The perfect Virgin, beloved, of sublime dignity,  
I shall be saved at all times by my Leinster Saint.

erat in loco qui postea Kildaria dicta est. Tunc ille sanctus, qui vidit visionem, cum videret Brigidam venientem, ait: ista est sancta Maria, quæ mihi hac nocte in visione præstensa est. Totus populus tunc extollebat S. Brigidam propter nomen illud, quo insignita est, Mariæ. Et ab inde vocata est Maria Hibernorum." In the third Life, attributed to St. Ultan, the story is told thus:—"Religiosa quædam vidua in proximo vico habitans, postulavit a patre ejus, ut S. Brigida secum iret ad Synodum quæ collecta erat in campo Lifli et a patre permittitur. At illæ egressæ sunt viam. Tunc vir

Sanctus in Synodo dormiens vidit visionem, et surgens ait, Vidi Mariam, et quandam virum stantem cum ea, qui ait mihi, Hæc est sancta Maria, quæ habitat inter vos. Et cum hæc vir Sanctus narrasset in Synodo, statim supervenit vidua cum S. Brigida. Tunc vir Sanctus dixit, Hæc est Maria, quam vidi: quia formam illius manifeste cognosco. Tunc omnes glorificaverunt eam, quasi in typo Mariæ."—cap. 14. The same story is given also in the Life or Panegyric of St. Brigid in the *Leabhar Breac*.

<sup>g</sup> *Mariæ*.—Cap. 14 (*Tr. Thaum.* p. 528).

<sup>h</sup> *Irish Hymn*.—This Hymn has been pub-

And so also St. Brogan Cloen, in his Irish poem<sup>i</sup>, which Colgan has printed as the first Life :

brigit machair mo rupech  
nime, platha fearr cuir.

Brigit, mother of my Lord  
Of heaven, a Sovereign the best born.

In these passages Brigid is strangely spoken of, not as *resembling* the Virgin Mary in feature, or even in purity and sanctity, but as partaking with her, in some mystical sense, of the prerogative of being Mother of Jesus, "Mother of my Lord of heaven." Nevertheless, it is certain that the idea of a reappearance of Mary, in the person of St. Brigid, which would make them one and the same person, was not in the minds of these writers, notwithstanding the extravagance of their language ; for St. Brogan Cloen afterwards says :

In caillech peibed cuppech  
pop reath ppa febra feḡi  
ni puar appeḡ acht Maire  
aḡmunemair mo bḡiḡi.

The veiled Virgin who drives over the Currech<sup>j</sup>  
Is a shield against sharp weapons ;  
None was found her equal, except Mary,  
Let us put our trust in my strength.

In the last line there is a play upon the name of St. Brigid, and the Irish word *brigi*, strength. And again:

Cach no chuala cach no ḡab,  
po be bennacht bḡiḡte pair,  
bennacht bḡiḡte ocuḡ De,  
pop don rabat imalle.

Every one that hears, every one that repeats [this poem],  
The blessing of Brigid be on him ;  
The blessing of Brigid and of God  
Be upon them that recite it together.

Pail bi chaillḡ ippicheb,  
no chopnaḡur dom dicheḡl,  
Maire ḡ rancet bḡiḡte,  
pop apoepḡam dun diblmaib.

There are two Virgins<sup>k</sup> in heaven,  
Who will not give me a forgetful protection,  
Mary, and Saint Brigid,  
Under the protection of them both may we remain.

Here it is clear that Mary and Brigid are spoken of as two distinct beings, and the notion of a reappearance of the former in the person of the latter is excluded.

The words of the supposed first stanza of the Hymn in the text (taking the cor-

lished in a Latin version by Colgan (*Tr. Th.* p. 606, n. 23). It occurs in the *Liber Hymnorum*, p. 32, from which it is here cited. The Scholiast in the Preface states, that St. Columkille is supposed to be the author, but he adds, "or it was Ultan of Ardbreccan who made this Hymn."

<sup>i</sup> *Irish poem*.—This poem occurs in the *Liber Hymnorum*, p. 33. I have made the quotations from the original, as Colgan's text is full of typographical errors.

<sup>j</sup> *The Currech*.—i. e. the Curragh of Kildare. The scholiast in a gloss on this word says, "cuppech a cursu equorum dictus est;" a curious proof of the antiquity of its use as a race-course: to which, perhaps, some allusion may be intended in the description of St. Brigid, as "the Nun (or veiled virgin) who drives over the Currech."

<sup>k</sup> *Two Virgins*.—The word caillech, here used, signifies a veiled or consecrated virgin, a nun, derived probably from the Latin *cucullus*.

rected reading of *autumata*, for *aut amata*) are also remarkable: *Christi matrem se spopondit*: "she promised, or pledged herself to be Christ's mother, and made herself so by words and deeds, Brigid, who is esteemed the Queen of the true God." The Hymn itself, however (v. 8), is content with the statement that she was a Virgin like to Holy Mary, "*Mariæ sanctæ similem*."

Our Lord has said (St. Matt. xii. 50) that whosoever shall do the will of God, "the same is His brother, and sister and mother," and this perhaps may be all that is meant by St. Brigid's *pledging herself to be* the Mother of Christ, and *making herself so* by words and deeds. Colgan explains it thus (*Tr. Thaum.*, p. 622): "*Quod a tempore juventutis suæ Christum in suo pectore gestabat: nam non solum omnes suas actiones in Deum referebat, sed et simul continua mentis elevatione et absque ulla intermissione, fixa in eum intentione ferebatur. Et hanc esse causam indicat S. Ultanus loco proxime citato, dicens, Christi matrem se spopondit, dictis atque factis fecit.*" So that, according to this explanation, she who by continual elevation of mind, and fixed intention, keeps her thoughts ever upon Christ, may be said to travail with Christ, and figuratively to be the Mother of Christ, and so to be, as it were, another Mary.

This latter prerogative of St. Brigid, to be the Mary of the Irish, Colgan interprets thus: "*Quod majori fuerit in honore et veneratione apud Hibernos, quam ulla alia sancta post beatissimam Virginem Matrem: seu quasi suppari veneratione cum ipsa Dei Genitrice.*" This is certainly softening the matter as much as possible, seeing that the ancient authorities place her on an equality with the Blessed Virgin, giving to her also the seemingly incommunicable title of Dei Genetrix, and the still more unusual one of "Queen of the true God." And, moreover, they state expressly that she was called the Mary of the Irish, and recognised as such by an assembled Synod, in consequence of her personal resemblance to the B. Virgin Mary, whilst still a child, and therefore before she was known to the Irish people, or could have received any honour or veneration from them<sup>1</sup>.

It is curious that the story of the Synod, in a somewhat modified form, is retained in an Office<sup>m</sup> of St. Brigid, printed at Paris so late as 1622. In this Office, as reprinted by Colgan (*App.* i. p. 600), the following is part of *Lectio* v.:

"Religiosa quædam fœmina postulavit a Patre sua, ut S. Brigida secum exiret ad Synodum quæ collecta erat in Campo Liffæi, et a patre permittitur. Tunc vir quidam sanctus in Synodo dormiens vidit visionem et surgens ait, Hæc altera Maria<sup>n</sup> quæ habitat inter nos."

<sup>1</sup> *From them*.—See some learned and curious remarks on this subject in Mr. Herbert's *Cyclops Christianus*, p. 113 seq., p. 137, p. 141-2.

<sup>m</sup> *An office*.—This Office, with some minor variations, occurs, with full musical notation, in the

Antiphony of Clondalkin, a MS. of the fourteenth century, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, n. 1. 3.

<sup>n</sup> *Hæc altera Maria*.—In the third Life the language is: "Hæc est Maria (without the explanatory

"*Respon.* Virgo deportatur, honor ei amplius cumulat: Synodus instabat, nova Brígida stella micabat. Sacra cohors plaudit, quia signum cœlitus audit.

"*Vers.* Præbyter hanc aliam denuntiat esse Mariam. Sacra cohors plaudit."

In the same Office there is a hymn, of which the first two stanzas are manifestly a paraphrase of the verses *Christus in nostra insula*. They are as follows:

Christo canamus gloriam,  
Qui per beatam Brigidam  
Decoravit Hiberniam,  
Vitam dans ejus lucidam.

Hæc speculum munditiæ,  
Quæ mundo late claruit,  
Hæc rosa temperantiæ  
Cujus virtus non languit.

The following Table may throw some light on this subject. It is prefixed to the MS. Martyrology of Tamhlacht, preserved in the Burgundian Library at Brussels.

Hî sunt sancti quî erant unius moris et vitæ, ut dicunt:—

Johannes Baptista, . . . . .	Episcopus Ibaire.
Petrus Apostolus, . . . . .	Patricius <sup>o</sup> .
Paulus Apostolus, . . . . .	Finnan Cluana-hiraird.
Andreas A., . . . . .	Colum-cille.
Jacobus A., . . . . .	Finnian Mhuighe-bile.
Johannes A., . . . . .	Ciaran Cluana.
Pilipus A., . . . . .	Cainneac.
Bartolomeus A., . . . . .	Brendinus senior.
Tomas A., . . . . .	Brenainn Cluana ferta.
Matheus A., . . . . .	Colum Tire da glas.
Jacobus A., . . . . .	Comgall Bennchair.

*altera*) quæ habitat inter vos:" and these are there given as the words, not of the saint who saw the vision, but of the angel seen in the vision, who stood with the Virgin Mary, and said, not of St. Brigid, but of the B. V. Mary herself, "Hæc est Maria quæ habitat inter vos:" thus strangely confounding the

persons of Mary and Brigid. It will be observed, however, that this extravagance is avoided in the Office printed in 1622.

<sup>o</sup> *Patricius*.—St. Patrick is compared to St. Peter in the Hymn of St. Sechnall, line 10, p. 12 *supr.* but elsewhere to Moses; see *Vit. Trip.* lib. i. c. 37.



Simon A., . . . . .	Molaisi Dainub-insi.
Tatheus A., . . . . .	Sinchellus junior.
Mathias A., . . . . .	Ruadhan Lothra.
Maria, . . . . .	Brigita.
Martinus, . . . . .	Caemhgiu Glinni da lacha.
Antonius monachus, . . . . .	Feichin Fobhair.
Augustinus sapiens, . . . . .	Lonngaradh.
Ambrocius Imnodicus <sup>p</sup> , . . . . .	Mac indecis.
Job patiens, . . . . .	Munna mac Tulcain.
Jeronimus sapiens, . . . . .	Manchan Leith.
Clemens Papa, . . . . .	Ciaran Saighbre.
Grigorius Moraliu <sup>q</sup> , . . . . .	Cummini Fota.
Laurtius [ <i>sic</i> ] diaconus, . . . . .	Decoin Nesan.
Beda sapiens, . . . . .	Buite mac Bronaigh.
Ilarius episcopus et sapiens, . . . . .	Sechnall episcopus.
Cornelius Papa, . . . . .	Maedog Ferna.
Silvester Papa, . . . . .	Adamnan episcopus.
Bonifacius P., . . . . .	Molaisi Lethglinne.
Pauconius monachus, . . . . .	Caimin Innsi-cealtra.
Benedictus caput monachorum Europæ, . . . .	Fintan Cluana eidnech, caput monachorum totius Hiberniæ.
Augustinus episcopus Angalorum [ <i>sic</i> ], . . .	Bairre episcopus Mumbain agus Conacht.

It will be seen that in this parallelism Mary and Brigid go together, as being "unius moris et vitæ;" but this is a very different idea from that which made Brigid the Mary of the Irish, and in some mystical sense a Θεοτόκος.

The Editor forbears to make any remarks on the foregoing list, as it would carry him too far from the present subject, but opportunities may occur of referring to it hereafter; and (as it has never before been published) he thinks it desirable to preserve it here.

<sup>p</sup> *Imnodicus*.—i. e. Hymnodicus, so called from his having composed several Hymns.

<sup>q</sup> *Moralium*.—i. e. Pope Gregory the Great, author

of the *Libri Moraliu*, or Exposition of the Book of Job.

### III. THE HYMN OF ST. CUMMAIN FOTA.

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THIS Hymn in praise of the Apostles and Evangelists has never before been printed. The historical Preface of the scholiast contains full information respecting its author, St. Cummain Fota, or The Tall, who died A. D. 661, and it is therefore unnecessary to say more of him here, except that he appears to have had a high reputation for learning. The Four Masters (at A. D. 661) quote a Rann, or short poem, composed on the death of St. Cummain, in which he is said to have been the only Irishman qualified to sit in the chair of St. Gregory; and in the parallel between the European and Irish saints (see last page), he is also compared to St. Gregory the Great.

The Hymn bears evident marks of the high antiquity claimed for it; and there seem no reasonable grounds for doubting its authenticity. It is accompanied by a gloss and scholia, which are given under the text, or in the notes.

The Twelve Apostles are enumerated in the same order in which they occur in the tenth chapter of St. Matthew, except that St. Paul is inserted immediately after St. Peter, and Madius, or Matthias, substituted for Judas Iscariot. The two Evangelists, SS. Mark and Luke, who were not Apostles, are then introduced; after whom come St. Patrick, and the Protomartyr St. Stephen.

The Hymn consists of stanzas of two lines which have rhymes or assonances in the last syllable. Each line consists of twelve syllables, and *Alleluia* is repeated after each stanza or distich. Some few exceptions to these rules which occur are mentioned in the notes.

A translation of the scholiast's Preface, with some remarks and illustrations, will be found in the Additional Notes.



celebra iuda. Cummain pota mac Fiachna pi iapiumian ille pecit hunc sinnum, ⁊ in Cummain pin pe ingein do ponai Fiachna he, tpe mepeai, ⁊ interpiogauit Flann, cuich pil oent, ⁊ dixit tui, ⁊ dixit pater, oportet mori. ita fiat, ap mō ingein. Sed quādo natup ept. do chill lte duetup ept. ⁊ ibi pelietup ept for benn clirouire hi cummain bic, inde dietur ept Commain, ⁊ ibidem nupitup ac doctup ept, ⁊ ni ferr ean do tandoi, donec uenit mater eiup ad uipitandum cum ad domum abbati ltae, articebromi comenit do rīde. Co tanc la and don tīg, ⁊ ni pabai comarba lte iup, ⁊ potum portulauit, ⁊ mater pua dedit ei pinum abbatiye do ol dīg app. eo neppib dīg app, eo po chairig comarba lte fuirpue tabairt in ballain do, conid and peim atpubairt re,

Ha pachaig [na pachaig],  
ce do bep dīg dom bpachair,

ip mac fiachna, ip hua fiachna,  
ip ingein fiachna a machair.

Ro leg iappem i Corceag cor do fui. Uenit autem portea ad patrem ⁊ ad patrīan  
.i. eo heuganacht lacha lein. At bepid tpa each ba cormail Cummain do Fiachna.  
inde tixit

Hi gō dam ei apbiup,  
ip focup ap pial ap tpiup.  
ip mo fēnathair m'athair,  
mo māthair ipi mo fiup

Ip focup in taplonnub,  
am oapa do mātchappo  
lichip eid mo mātchappre  
for bpachair do bpachairpe.  
forpro peim a iachna,  
ap tuu peim bpachair do bpachair.

Ma po genair maē de ule,  
ip meppe ad pemechaid,  
mo fiap ipi mo māthair,  
m'athair ipe mo fēnathair.

Dom apail capder po di,  
do pil Fiachpach Gaipinni,  
pech ip oa, ip mac do,  
in ei Cummaine d'iachno.

Tunc Fiachna . . . . . pilum Commaine epte, ⁊ ipte peim do ponai in immupra, ⁊ ipe  
pach a denma Cummain do chuaid immunigim aporetolop eo coemrad Domnall mac  
Aetha mic Ammepech coi do chunigib dilguda dia chintair, ap in coemnacair cena  
pemi, ap duire a cliride, ⁊ ipe Cummain po po amchapa do. Ap do chuap o Domnall  
eo Collumeille do iapraigib do eia no gebad do amchapaite, no in pegad eucipom  
peim rair, unde tixit Collumeille,

In fui do poigā andep,  
ip oca po geba a lep,

do bepa cummain eo a ēech,  
do hu alaid Ammepech.

⁊ ipe Cummain po thepcanad ann peim.

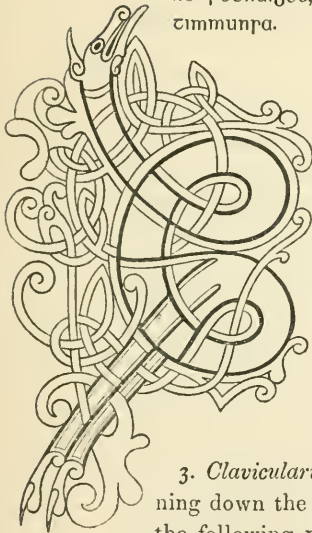
IN tan umorpo do chuaid Commain do þir peel Domnall iari hidenam ind immuin,  
 yr ann po boi Doinnall ocoi a chinad ipin cig. Tunc dixit Commain, In nora, 7rl. 7 ip  
 ann peim po la de in iñbrat corpera po boi tapair .i. brat do ponai a mathair do  
 .i. lann. Tunc dixit Commain,

Aríren, [aríren] emid Domnall e na gab  
 na cham peilcepa, pem thail, bpatan lanne pinne pair.

Ip aipe do chuaid immuingsin aporcelor, 7 do ponai Domnall coi a chinad iarren  
 conepbarit Cummaine,

In nora, [in nora] ire a po in po tall  
 po pitor Domnall níg óra .i. Dia uapa ni pe a po in po-ra

In tempore autem Domnall meie Aeda meie Ammepech do ponad. Tre pithim  
 umorpo pecit, 7 da line cech caibtil, 7 da pillaba dec cech line. For canoin fatha  
 no þothaiged, Celebra iuda perituitate tuar. I nDaire Calcaig do ponad in  
 timmunra.



celebra iuda festa christi gaudia  
 apostulorum exultans memoria

Clauiculari petri primi pastoris  
 piscium rete euangelii captoris alleluia

Gloss.—1. *Celebra*.—i. prædica. *Juda*.—i. confessio, vel ecclesia, necessitas  
 metri tuc punb iuda pech iudea [the necessity of the metre has put iudea here  
 instead of Judea]. 2. *Apostulorum*.—i. misorum. *Memoria*.—ab.

3. *Clauiculari*.—Over this word, run-  
 ning down the margin of the MS., is  
 the following note :—“.i. Subauditur  
 hic exultans memoria. Unde diriuatur hoc  
 nomen on di ap clauir, clauicula uad-  
 pibe, nup pappibe condenand clauicu-  
 larip, ur pappibe 7 p. de, condenand  
 clauiculariur de, 7 ip cubad a pail  
 hic, quia dixit Christus Tu es Petrus, et  
 super hanc petram edificabo æclesiam  
 meam et tibi dabo clauis regni celo-  
 rum. Petrus agnoscens [dicitur], eo quod

Christum agnovit, quando interrogauit  
 Christus de Petro, Quem vos me dicitis  
 esse, et dixit ei, Tu es Christus filius Dei  
 uiui. Simon aliud nomen est Petro, quod  
 interpretatur oboediens, [eo quod] oboe-  
 diuit Christo usque ad mortem, mortem  
 autem crucis; vel desoluens interpreta-  
 tur, eo quod desolvebat reos a penis. Pe-  
 trus et Andreas et Pilippus ex una ciui-  
 tate que uocatur Bezaida fuerunt, et hi  
 primi ex omnibus apostolis Deo credide-  
 runt.” It is unnecessary to give any



<b>P</b>	αὐτοῦ γέντιου ἐγρεῖτο πρεceptoris vasis electi israelis seminis	alleluia	5
<b>Α</b>	ἠνδρεα ἀτque precamur ἐγρεῖτο pasi pro christi fide aduocamina	alleluia	
<b>ΙΑ</b>	κοβique consobrinu domini preces adiuvant in scammate seculi	alleluia	10

GLOSS.—8. *Aduocamina*.—1. να τοῦαρμanna no να πορταχτα [the invocations, or the assistances]. 10. *Scammate*.—1. ἰρ μὲ ποί, no ἰρ μὲ ἐρῶιλ [i. e. in the field, or in the battle].

translation of this note, except to say that the passage which is in Irish tells us that *clavicularius* is derived “from the word *clavis*; from which comes *clavicula*; from which, by the addition of *ris*, is made *clavicularis*; from which, by adding *us*, and taking away *s*, is formed *Clavicularius*; and that this is the word here used.” *Claviculari*, therefore, in the text, is for *clavicularii*, the bearer of the keys. St. Clement is called “cœlestis clavicularii primus successor,” by St. Aldhelm, *De laude Virginit.* n. 25 (ed. Giles, p. 27). The significations given to the name *Petrus* will be found in the tract attributed to St. Jerome, *De nominibus Hebraicis* (in Act.), where *Petrus* is explained “cognoscens sive dissolvens.” The same work is also the source of the gloss over the words *Juda* and *apostolorum* in the text, and of the similar explanations of proper names which the author of these scholia has given.

4. *Evangelii*.—This word must be read *Evangel-jî*, as four syllables.

5. *Pauli*.—We have here the note, “Paulus, humilis, vel mitis: ex tribu Benjamin ortus est, nutritus uero in Tarso Ciliciæ.”

6. *Vasis electi*.—Alluding to Act. ix. 15, and Phil. iii. 5.

7. *Andreæ*.—On this word there is this note, “.i. virilis interpretatur: Cruce item pasus est.” *Pasus* for *passus*.

8. *Alleluia*.—On the upper margin of the page (p. 6 of the MS.), there is a note on *alleluia*, the beginning and end of which have been cut off by the binder. All that now remains legible is as follows: “. . . ebraice interpretatur Laudate Dominum, vel Lâus tibi Domine, vel, Saluum me fac Domine. Moises primus usus est alleluia, decantans contra Amalech in deserto, extensis manibus ad celum a mane usque ad vespèram, et sic deletus est Amalech a filiis Israel; et postea [David] decantauit apud ebreos alleluia, causa timoris uidens bestiam in Tabor et Hermon, et iterum propter timorem Abisolon filii sui cantauit . . .”

9. *Jacobi*.—We find here the following note: “.i. Zebedei filius, qui subplantator vitiorum. Gladio occisus est sub Herode tetrarcha, qui primus apostolorum pasus est.” In the Interpr. nominum Hebraicorum, *Jacobus* is interpreted “supplantator” only. In this line *Jacobi* must be

IOhannis sacri electi ab infantia  
qui accumbebat sponsi inter ubera      alleluia

ORis lampadis eloquentis philippi  
opem oremus prole cum peruiſiſi      alleluia

B Bartholomei impendamus nutibus  
nati pendentis aequora in nubibus      alleluia

Gloss.—12. *Accumbebat*.—i. in Channan Galileæ. *Sponsi*.—i. Christi. 13. *Oris lampadis*.—i. os lampadis interpretatur .i. ap a heolcha ꝥ ap eba paeplabpa [because of his skill, and because he was of noble speech]. 14. *Oremus*.—i. in prece. *Prole*.—i. tres filias habuit profetantes in novo testamento. 15. *Bartholomei*.—i. filius suspendentis aquas interpretatur. *Impendamus*.—i. epnem ppecep [make prayers]. *Nutibus*.—i. potestatibus.

read as of four syllables.

10. *Scammate*.—The arena in which gladiators fought, so called from the Greek ἐκάπτω, because it was surrounded by a fosse. So Isidore, in *Glossar*. “*Scammata*, arenæ ubi athletæ luctantur.” Tertullian says, *Ad Mart.* c. iii.: “Itaque epistates vester Christus Jesus, qui vos spiritu unxit et ad hoc scamma produxit;” and the word is frequently applied to the Christian’s conflict with the world, as by St. Aldhelm, “Sed liciorum filis flamma combustis, athletas Dei, in scammate mundi ritu paestrico agonizantes, a fumigabundis flammarum globis immunes divina tutela protexit.”—*De laud Virginis*. n. 36 (ed. Giles, p. 48). See also Du Cange, in voc.

11. *Johannis*.—Over this word is the following note: “.i. gratia Dei, vel in quo gratia interpretatur. Sub[intellige] adiuvent preces. Hic solus ex omnibus discipulis evasit sine martirio e seculo, et dormivit in pace.” *Infantia*.—This word is to be read *infant-ja*, as a trisyllable.

12. *Accumbebat*.—The gloss over this

word says, “.i. in Channan Galileæ,” alluding to the tradition that St. John was the bridegroom at the marriage of Cana in Galilee. See Baronius, *Annal.* A. D. 31, n. 30. But the allusion of the text seems rather to be to St. John, xiii. 23. In the left-hand margin is this note—“*Matres Jacobi et Johannis apostoli Ihū sorores fuerunt, unde consubrinii Domini dicti sunt.*”

13. *Pilippi*.—Here we have the note—“.i. pilippi, oecoin peim, ꝥ ipe peim apmep Cummain inter apostolos [i. e. this was Philip the deacon, and it is he that Cummain numbers among the Apostles] qui [in Hiera] polis civitate sepultus est, incertum est autem utrum gladio an cruce occisus est.”

14. *Prole*.—The gloss says that he had three daughters, but in Act. xxi. 9, we read that he had four. This is the old confusion between Philip the Evangelist and Philip the Apostle, the latter of whom is said to have had three daughters, and to have been buried with two of them at Hierapolis. See Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii. c. 31,

Τομαε tendentis partes inter parthiae  
 nos illuminet ab̄ssus scientie alleluia

Mathei quoque piscali a munere  
 donati xpm sequentis prepropere alleluia 20

Ατque iudem iacobi cominus  
 precem petamus sub̄iici alterius alleluia

Gloss.—17. *Parthia*.—Parthia nomen [regionis] in oriente. 19. *Mathei*.—i. donatus gratia interpretatur. *Quoque*.—Subintellige petamus precem. 21. *Jacobi*.—i. Alpei. *Cominus*.—i. cινδιου παρ παρην iacob τοιρεχ [i. e. he is to be distinguished from the former James].

and v. c. 24, cum Valesii annot. Baron. in *Martyrol. Rom. ad 1 Maii*. The scholiast was clearly mistaken when he interprets this verse of Philip the deacon; for it is evident that the author of the Hymn intended Philip the Apostle, inasmuch as the order of the names (if we allow for the insertion of St. Paul next after St. Peter) is identical with that in which the Apostles are enumerated, St. Matt. x., Madianus (i. e. Matthias) being substituted for Judas Iscariot. Nevertheless, the description, “Os lampadis eloquens Philippus,” seems to designate the deacon, of whom St. Augustine says, “Propter promptum prædicationis eloquium, evangelista proprie meruit appellari.”—*Serm.* 266, n. 4 (*Ed. Bened.*). The absurd interpretation of the name Philip as signifying פִּילִיפּי, os lampadis, is found in the *Interpr. nominum Hebr.* (in *S. Marc.*).

15. *Bartholomei*.—The interpretation of this name in the gloss occurs also in the tract *De nomin. Hebr.* (in *Act.*). The roots intended are בר filius, רלה suspendit, and מי aqua.

16. *Nati pendens*.—The foregoing interpretation of the name is here evidently alluded to. Over this line is the note—“i. mac De iap p̄p ar̄tar na up̄ibe ip na nelaib. Ite na up̄ibe iap p̄ianp, na pop̄cetla. Ite ip mo mul in pop̄cetlaibe [i. e. the Son of God of a truth is He that retains the waters in the clouds. The waters, according to the mystical meaning, are the instruction. The clouds are the teachers]. Hic gladio occisus est.”

17. *Tomae*.—Here we have the following note:—“i. qui dicitur Didimus; ab̄issus scientiæ interpretatur. Gladio occisus est, et corpus eius in Edisa ciuitate est.” The *De nomin. Hebr.* (*S. Matt.*) has “Thomas, abyssus, vel geminus, unde et Græce Didymus appellatur.” תהום is evidently the Hebrew origin here assumed; but where did our Irish scholiast get abyssus scientiæ? Did he intend to make the termination as identical with the Celtic p̄op̄, knowledge, science? The true root is תאם, geminus, gemellus, and Διδυμος is no more than a Greek translation of the name. *Parthiæ*.—See Euseb. iii. c. 1. Clement.

**T**atheī tota pamosi per tellura  
abgoro misi iñu cum epistola. alleluia

**S**imonis dicti suapte cannanei 25  
stolam qui tinxit agni dei sanguine alleluia

**S**orte preelecti madiani meritis  
siti locemur celorum in editis alleluia

Gloss.—23. *Tatheī*.—i. cultor cordis interpretatur: idem et Judas frater Jacobi Alphei. 24. *Abgoro*.—i. ὅαν. 25. *Simonis*.—i. obediens interpretatur. *Suapte*.—i. in sua regione vel sua civitate ἡ πύλλα βα πορτορμαῖς ἡ κοπ [and it adds a syllable in the text]. *Cannanei*.—i. stelus interpretatur, et a Channa vico dictus est, [ubi] Christus aquam in vinum convertit. 26. *Tinxit*.—i. carnem suam in passionem Christi tinxit. 27. *Sorte*.—i. in locum Jude. *Madiani*.—i. donum Dei, vel iudicium Dei interpretatur. 28. *Siti*.—i. positi. *Locemur*.—i. κονορτινοτεα [so that we may be congregated]. *Editis*.—i. in templis, i. in secretis, i. in excelsis, vel in celis.

Recogn. ix. c. 29, and the notes of Cotelarius.

19. *Fiscali*.—Here we have the following note:—"i. in μαμχηρτα [the treasure chest] quia fiscus inuenitur i. cyp [rent or tribute] fiscalis, vel fiscalis cista, no peba cypa i. ιετοβuc cypa ὅο πῖς in domum no bio [or a wooden chest, i. e. he used to be collecting tribute for the king of the world]." The Roman Emperor was called "King of the World" by the Irish.

21. *Cominus*.—This line is a syllable short, unless we make *I-a-co-bi* four syllables, as it is in v. 9. The meaning seems to be, "Let us ask for the prayer of James, to be near at hand to us, aided by the prayer of the other James." After the word *cominus*, on the same line is the gloss i. χῖπο. which would seem to intend, "James who is near to Christ."

22. *Subnixi*.—The scholiast here says:—"i. ὀδενχου τamic co Cπῖρτ quam pre-dictus, ἡ pund po ḡabtha in hierupalem

[i. e. he came later to Christ than the aforesaid, and it was then he was elevated in Jerusalem]:" that is, James the Less was called to the apostleship later than James son of Zebedee, and afterwards became Bishop of Jerusalem.

23. *Tellura*.—The note over this word is obscure. "i. ταρρ na huillib talman-naib, ap pen epa peb no pepibenn ἡ πic . . . . ecte pep tellupa i. pupa [i. e. through all lands, for this is the manner in which it is written, et sic . . . . ecte per tellura, i. e. rura]." The first few letters of the word ending . . . . *ecte* are illegible.

24. *Abgoro*.—Over this word is the gloss i. ὀαν [i. e. bold, valiant]. It is well known that Agbarus, or Abgarus, was not a proper name, but the common title of all the Kings of Edessa, from the Arabic *akbar*, great. *Epistola*.—Over this word is the note "i. beatus es [the two first words of the Epistle to Abgarus]. Nescimus qua morte mortuus est." In the margin is the



**m**arci excelsi mandata iustitiæ  
annuntiantis ἄρῃ alexandriæ                      alleluia 30

**m**edici veri lucæ euangelizæ  
agnum sequentis uirginali honore                      alleluia

**p**atrici patris obsecremus merita  
ut deo digna perpetnemus opera                      alleluia

Gloss.—29. *Marci*.—Marcus excelsus interpretatur: subintellige petamus opem. 30. *Annuntiantis*.—i. predicantis. *Alexandriæ*.—i. adverbium. 31. *Lucæ*.—i. ipse consurgens interpretatur. 32. *Virginali*.—i. quia virgo fuit. Illic Sirius natione. 33. *Patris*.—i. nostri.

following note:—"Errat hic Cummain quia Tatheus portavit epistolam ad Abgarum. Sed Annanias cursor ac servus Abgari portavit et reportavit. Et ipse Tatheus postea predicavit ei fidem i. Abgaro, ut historia ecclesiastica narrat." This is no doubt a reference to Eusebius, where in Rufinus's version, the letter of Abgarus is said to have been sent to Jerusalem, "per Ananiam cursorem"—ἐν τῇ Ἀνανία ταχυεφόρμῳ.—*Hist. Eccl.* i. 13.

25. *Suapte*.—The gloss on this word explains it to mean, "in sua regione, vel sua civitate," and adds, "that there is a syllable too much in the verse;" for that seems to be the meaning. From this I conclude that the scholiast must have read *sua parte*, which would give a syllable too much, unless we pronounced *sua* as a monosyllable; *suapte* does not seem very intelligible. *Cannanei*.—The gloss on this word gives *stelus* (i. e. *zelus*), as the interpretation of this name, and states also that Simon was so called from Cana of Galilee. In this the scholiast follows St. Jerome, who, in his Commentary on St. Matt. x. 3,

says: "Primus scribitur Simon, cognomento Petrus, ad distinctionem alterius Simonis, qui appellatur Chananæus, de vico Chana Galilææ, ubi aquam Dominus in vinum vertit;" and on ver. 4, he says, "Chana quippe zelus interpretatur." See also Theodoret. in Psal. lxvii. 28.

27. *Madiani*.—In the gloss on this word Mathias is interpreted *donum Dei*, quasi מַתְיָיָה, and so *Mattheus* is interpreted *Donatus* above, v. 20, and Gloss v. 19. Hesychius explains it ἐκκληρευμένος. The other interpretation, "vel iudicium," appears to be founded upon the spelling *Madianus*, as if from the Hebrew מַדְיָן. In St. Jerome's *Interpr. nomin. Hebr.* (in Act.), we have, "Madian, in iudicio, vel ex iudicio," which must be intended for *Matthias* the Apostle. In this line we must read *Madiani* as three syllables—*Mad-ja-ni*.

30. *Alexandriæ*.—Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 16.

31. *Evangelizæ*.—i. e. evangelistæ; z for st. So *Zefani*, ver. 35, for *Stephani*; and in the Gloss. v. 25, *stelus*, for *zelus*.

34. *Ut Deo digna*.—In the upper mar-

SANCTI ZEPANI PRIMI ATQUE MARTIRIS  
 PRO INIMICIS ROGANTIS CUM SUSPIRIS      *alleluia* 35

HORUM SANCTORUM BINA SEPTIM VALIDA  
 PIANE PRO NOBIS SCUTATA SUPPRAEGRATA      *alleluia*

QUIBUS IGNITA DEMONUM IACULA  
 POSUNT EXTINGI UT PER PROPUGNACULA      *alleluia* 40

GLOSS.—35. *Zefani*.—i. norma, ebreice; coronatus, grece, qui fuit primus martir novi testamenti post Christum. 36. *Rogantis* —i. dicentis, Domine Jesu ne statuas illis hoc in peccatum [cf. Act. vii. 60]. 40. *Per propugnacula*.—i. amal bîb tpe epmuru, no tpe cath eliaha [i. e. as it were by fortifications, or by battlements].

gin of p. 7, in the MS., is a note, the beginning and end of which have been cut off by the binder. It does not appear to have any special reference to the Hymn, except as giving a reason for the primacy of St. Peter. All that now remains of it is as follows: “. . . magna . . . et spatiosa domus est atrium quia addantur ei .iii. porticus extrinsecus, in hoc diversitas .x. apost. et Petrus est, illi fugiunt, quanquam procul tamen [ille] sequitur saluatorem, et ideo solus principatui eligitur. Amen dico vobis quaecunque alligaueritis super terram erunt ligata et in celo etrl. ag. Hic ostenditur quod non potestas alligandi et soluendi datur Petro, sed peritia usquequo sciat quis alligandus et solvendus . . .” This is probably an extract from some ancient author. It would be interesting to discover from what author it is taken.

36. *Suspiris*, for *suspiriis*.

37. *Bina septim*.—Seventeen saints have been named, viz. thirteen Apostles (including St. Paul), with two evangelists, St. Patrick, and St. Stephen. But the following gloss, which occurs over the word *sep-*

*tim*, explains that the fourteen saints here intended are the twelve Apostles, with St. Paul and St. Stephen, “.i. xiiii. in da aptal dec. i. Paulup ⁊ Stepanup quamvis non sit apostolus, ⁊ conabao he Commaine do bepað Mapecum ⁊ Lucam hic, no mapu he do pat ip. umi. valida ap maizh and [i. xiv., viz. the twelve Apostles, with Paul, and Stephen, although he is not an Apostle. And it may have been Commain himself that inserted Mark and Luke here; and if it was he that inserted them, then octo valida would be the right reading in the text].” Here the scholiast intimates that the notices of Mark and Luke may have been interpolations since Cummain’s time. But the mention of St. Patrick, v. 33, makes the number 17, not 16, and therefore the proposed reading of *bina octo*, for *bina septem*, does not remove the difficulty. May it not be that the twice seven are the fourteen *Apostles*, viz. the Twelve, St. Paul, and St. Patrick? In the versicle at the end, SS. Peter, Paul, and Patrick, are mentioned as the chief *Apostles*.

INICIATA quo PERAMUS pectora  
 regi regnanti ab ævo in secula      alleluia

GLORIA patri atque unigenito  
 simul regnanti spiritu cum agio      alleluia

NIMIS honorati sunt amici tui deus  
 nimis confortatus est principatus eorum      alleluia  
 celebra iuda festa christi gaudia apostolorum

Exaudi nos deus per merita apostolorum optima  
 ut deleantur peccata nostra peccata plurima  
 Per merita et orationes intercessionisque  
 sancti petri et pauli et patricii et ceterorum  
 apostolorum ac martirum omnium  
 sanctorum propitietur nobis dominus.

GLOSS.—41. *Quo*.—Co. 42. *Ab ævo*.—i. a principio. 44. *Cum agio*.—i. cum sancto, qui agius grece sanctus latine dicitur, ut agiographa, i. sancta scriptura. 45. *Honorati*.—i. ab omnibus. *Amici*.—amicus dictus est quasi animi æquus, qui æqualis nobis voluntate coniungitur. 46. *Confortatus*.—i. bonis operibus. *Eorum*.—i. apostolorum.

39. *Iacula*.—This word is here of four syllables—*i-a-cu-la*.

41. *Quo*.—Over this word is the gloss co, "in order that."

45. *Nimis honorati*.—This verse seems to have been regarded as a part of the Hymn by the transcriber of the MS., as appears by his having repeated the first line of the Hymn immediately after it, according to a custom already noticed. See note, p. 23 *supra*. It is, however, Ps. cxxxviii. 17, with the reading *honorati* for *honorificati*. The absence of the

metre proves that it was not intended by the author as a part of the Hymn.

*Exaudi nos*.—This is an *Antiphona* to be recited after the Hymn; it is evidently in a rude rhyme. Then follows another Antiphon, Prayer, or Collect, in which, as already observed, "SS. Peter, Paul, and Patrick, and the other Apostles," are mentioned together. It is probable that we ought to read "et omnium sanctorum," or "omniumque sanctorum." Both these versicles are in a different character, although from the pen of the original scribe.

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## ADDITIONAL NOTES.

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### NOTE A.

#### *The Scholiast's Preface.*

THE following is a literal translation of the Preface. The scraps of Latin which the writer, according to the general practice of Irish ecclesiastics, mixes up with his vernacular Gaelic, are also translated, in order that the whole may read more smoothly:—

CELEBRER JUDA. Cummain Fota [the Tall], son of Fiachna, King of West Munster, he it was that composed this Hymn. And this Cummain, it was by his own daughter that Fiachna had him, through a fit of drunkenness<sup>a</sup>. And he questioned [his daughter] Flann, [saying] By whom have you him? and she said, He is thine. And the father said, He ought to die. Be it so, said the daughter. But when he was born, he was brought to Cill Ita [*now* Killeedy], and was left there upon the head of a cross, in a little *cummain* [box or basket], from which he was named Cummain, and was there nursed and taught, and it was not known from whence he came, until his mother came to visit him at the house of the Abbess Ita<sup>b</sup>, for she used to come often to him. And she came one day to the house, and the comharb of Ita was not within ;

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<sup>a</sup> *Drunkenness*.—A more modern account states that Fiachna intended to lie with Cacht, daughter of Maolochtair, son of Aedh Bolg, King of the Decies, who was then at his house, on her way to St. Brennan's Hill, where she was going on a pilgrimage. She slept in the same room, and in the same bed, with Fiachna's daughter, and it was by mistake, not from drunkenness, that Fiachna committed the incest of which St. Cummain Fota was the offspring. This version of the story goes on to say that the infant, when born, was exposed in a *cummain*, or box, of wicker-work, and sent off afloat upon the Abhan Mor, or Great River; that the box, carried down by the stream, was found by Bishop Declan's fishermen, who carried it to the Bishop; that the Bishop [who, it should be remembered, such are the anachronisms of this version of the story, was a contemporary of

St. Patrick], finding the child alive, baptized him, and committed him again to the river, predicting that it was reserved for St. Mida (or Ita) to educate the boy: that St. Ita, whilst washing her hands at the river, observed the floating box, opened it, and, carrying the child to the altar, there dedicated him to God, naming him *Cummain*, from his having been found in the box or basket. This story occurs in a MS. of the eighteenth century, very badly written, and in very bad modern Irish, which is preserved among the Betham MSS. (26 a) in the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

<sup>b</sup> *The Abbess Ita*.—This has been understood (see note <sup>a</sup>) as if St. Ita herself had been alive when the infant St. Cummain was left at her church. Dr. Lanigan very fairly objects that St. Ita died in 569, exactly twenty-three years before



and he asked for a drink, and his mother gave him the churn<sup>c</sup> of the abbess to drink from; and he drank from it. And the comharb of Ita rebuked her<sup>d</sup> for having given him the churn, whereupon she then said—

Notice not, notice not,  
If I give my brother to drink,  
He is the son of Fiachna; he is the grandson of Fiachna,  
Fiachna's daughter is his mother.

He afterwards studied in Cork, until he became a Doctor<sup>e</sup>. And then he returned to his father and to his country; i. e. to the Eoghanacht of Loch Lein<sup>f</sup>. And every one then said that Cummain resembled Fiachna: wherefore he said:—

It is no falsehood for me, if that be  
said;  
For near is the relationship of us  
three,  
My grandfather is my father,  
My mother is my sister.

If good be born of evil,  
It is I that should excel.  
My sister is my mother,  
My father is my grandfather.

Short is the summing up,  
I am the grandson of thy mother,  
My mother also is accused of guilt  
With the brother of thy brother,  
With thyself, O Fiachna<sup>h</sup>,  
For thou art the brother of thy brother.

To me there is a double relationship  
To the race of Fiachra-Gairrinni,  
For a grandson and a son to him  
Is the said Cummain to Fiachna

St. Cummain was born. But there is nothing in the Scholiast's narrative which implies that St. Ita herself was alive, although more modern authors have represented it so. On the contrary, it is expressly said that when St. Cummain's mother came to the house of Ita, "St. Ita's comharb," that is, St. Ita's successor, or representative, "was not within;" which proves that St. Ita herself was not then alive, otherwise she could have had no successor as abbess in her monastery. See Lanigan's *Ecel. Hist.* ii. p. 399, note 51.

<sup>c</sup> *The churn.*—The Latin has *sinus*, the Irish *bail-lan*, a word which signifies a churn, or vessel for holding milk, a wooden drinking-cup, or bowl; and Isidore in his Glossary interprets *sinus*—"Vas in quo butyrum conficitur." See Du Cange *in voce*.

<sup>d</sup> *Rebuked her.*—The version of this story in the Betham MS. (26 a), quoted above, note <sup>a</sup>, represents the fault committed by St. Cummain's mother to have been, not that she gave him to drink out of the vessel of the abbess, but that she gave him milk to drink during a season of fasting.

<sup>e</sup> *Notice not.*—This and the following poems are written in the MS. as prose, without division of the

lines. But it has been thought better, in printing them, to restore the metrical arrangement. The repetition of the words *Na raithais*, "Notice not," in the first line, is necessary for the metre. It was a common practice, when a verse was so constructed, to write the word once only.

<sup>f</sup> *A Doctor.*—The word is *pui*, or *paor*, a learned man of the highest degree.

<sup>g</sup> *Eoghanacht of Loch Lein.*—i. e. of the Lake of Killarney. These were descendants of Eoghan Mor, eldest son of Oiliol Olum, King of Munster in the second century. See Irish version of Nennius, p. 258, note.

<sup>h</sup> *O Fiachna.*—In the Irish *a iachna*, for a *Phiachna*, the aspirated *p* being omitted, in accordance with the pronunciation. So again, in the last of these verses, *m tɪ Cummaine diachno*, for *ɔ' Phiachno*. St. Cummain's mother is called *lann*, for *Plann*, in more than one passage of this Preface. This dropping of the *p* is very common with Irish scribes, and has been the occasion of several mistakes. The Editor is indebted to Mr. Curry for this observation.

<sup>i</sup> *Fiachra-Gairrinni.*—Fiachna, father of Cum-

Then Fiachna [acknowledged] Cummain to be his son. And it was he [i. e. this Cummain] that composed this Hymn; and the cause of composing it was this:—Cummain's having recourse to the help of the Apostles, to help Domhnall<sup>k</sup>, son of Aedh, son of Ainmire, to obtain the power of shedding tears, to seek forgiveness of his sins; for he had not been able to do so before, in consequence of the hardness of his heart. And this Cummain was his spiritual director; for Domhnall had sent to Columcille<sup>l</sup> to ask him whom he should take as his spiritual director, or whether he should go to himself to the east [i. e. to Ily, or Iona]. Wherefore Columcille said:—

The Doctor<sup>m</sup> who shall come from the south,  
It is with him he [Domhnall] shall find what he wants,  
He will bring communion<sup>n</sup> to his house  
To the excellent grandson of Ainmire.

And it was Cummain that was prophesied of on that occasion.

Now when Cummain came to learn Domhnall's case, after having composed the Hymn, he found Domhnall bewailing his sins in the house. Then Cummain said:—

Now it is<sup>o</sup>, &c.

And it was then that he threw off the crimson cloak which was around him, that is, a cloak which his mother, viz. Flann<sup>p</sup>, had made for him. Then said Cummain,

It is therefore, it is therefore,  
That I am not allowed to proceed as I wish,  
Domhnall refuses, he will not put  
The little cloak of Flann, the fair, upon him.

main, was the son of Fiachra-Gairrine. Cummain was grandson to Fiachna (being the son of his daughter), as well as his son. His name, therefore, appeared in two different lines of the family pedigree.

<sup>l</sup> *Acknowledged*.—This word is supplied from conjecture, as a word or two are illegible in the MS. All that can be read with certainty is given in the text (p. 72). Mr. Curry thinks that the letters  $\text{DIDIT}$  are visible before  $\text{piliun}$ ; if so, perhaps, *credidit* was the obliterated word.

<sup>k</sup> *Domhnall*.—He was King of Ireland from A. D. 628 to 642. See his Pedigree, *Battle of Magh Rath*, ed. by Dr. O'Donovan, p. 326.

<sup>l</sup> *To Columcille*.—This saint died no earlier than A. D. 595 [592, *Four Masters*]. Therefore, the meaning, perhaps, may be that Domhnall consulted St. Columcille (which he might have done before that year, for his father died in 599), and that St. Columcille predicted St. Cummain, although this latter saint was then an infant, having been born in 590. It is more probable, however, that when

Columcille is mentioned, his *comharb*, or successor, is meant, according to the usual way of speaking of the Irish, who considered the saint as still presiding over his monastery, however long after his death, and as still speaking by the mouth of his successor.

<sup>m</sup> *The Doctor*.—Or learned man. The same word, *pui*, is here used. See above, note <sup>f</sup>.

<sup>n</sup> *Communion*.—There seems here to be intended a play upon the word *Cummain*, "communion with the Church," and *Cummain*, the name of the saint who was destined to bring this communion to the house of Domhnall.

<sup>o</sup> *Now it is*.—The commencement only of this Rann or Poem is given, because four lines of it are quoted at length further on.

<sup>p</sup> *Flann*.—Here again the text has *Lann*, the initial F being omitted. The verses that follow seem to allude to the ancient custom of putting on the raiment of the saint who acted as your penitentiary, in token of submission and humiliation. This, it seems, Domhnall refused to do.

And it was therefore that he appealed to the Apostles; and Domhnall wept for his sins after that, whereupon Cummain said,

Now it is, now it is,  
Domhnall knows that there is a king over him, i. e. God above him;  
His Lord is the Lord above,  
His Lord is not this Lord.

It was in the time of Domhnall, son of Aedh, son of Ainmire, it [the Hymn] was composed. And he made it in rhythm; and there are two lines in each capitulum, and twelve syllables in each line. It was founded upon the canon of the Prophets, *Celebra Juda festivitates tuas*. In Daire Calcaigh<sup>1</sup> this Hymn was made.

### NOTE B.

#### *The History and Date of St. Cummain Fota.*

ST. CUMMAIN FOTA, i. e. the Long, or Tall, is said to have been Bishop of Clonfert, and appears to have enjoyed a high reputation for learning and piety. His death is recorded in the Annals of Tighernach twice. First at the year 661, with the qualification "secundum aliquos;" and afterwards at the following year, which is probably the true date, in these words:—

A. D. 662, "Cummine Fota .lxxii. anno ætatis suæ mortuus est."

From this it follows that St. Cummain Fota must have been born in the year 590, or if the former date be adopted, 589.

Let us see how this will square with the accounts which remain in ancient Irish authorities of his genealogy and history.

For this purpose it will be necessary, in the first instance, to bring together the authorities, and then to make some remarks upon them.

I. In laying before the reader the authorities, I shall confine myself to those that may be properly called *sources*, or original authorities: citing them as nearly as possible in chronological order.

1. Aengus the Culdee, in his book *On the Mothers of the Saints of Ireland*, pre-

<sup>1</sup> *God above him*.—This explanation is added in the way of gloss; it forms no part of the metre. In the last two lines there is a play on the word *po*, which signifies a *king*, or *lord*, and also *good*, or *honour*. It is not easy to translate allusions of this kind; but the meaning seems to be, "His good, or *summu bonum*, is now the Lord above; his God is not now, as formerly, this (earthly, or sensual) good."

<sup>2</sup> *The Prophets*.—Alluding to Nahum, i. 15, where the words "*Celebra Juda festivitates tuas*" occur.

<sup>3</sup> *Daire Calcaigh*.—This was the ancient Pagan name of Derry, "the oak wood of *Calcach*," a Pagan hero. It is rendered *Roboretum Calgaci* by Adamnan in his Life of St. Columba. See Ordnance Survey Memoir of Londonderry, p. 17.

served in the Book of Lecan (MS. Royal Irish Academy), gives the following genealogy of St. Cummain Fota:—

Rim inžen Fiachna mic Fiachrað Dairine, mic Duach iarlaithi, maðair Cummaine mic Fiachna, ⁊ Comgam mic Dacerda, ⁊ Duari mic Colman, ⁊ Crimthann dāeil mic Aeda Ciri, rí ūaigen, ⁊ Cuana mic Cailéine .i. laech Liathmuine, ⁊ Bracain Dairinib.

Rimh, daughter of Fiachna, son of Fiachra Gairine, son of Duach Iarlaithi, was the mother of Cummaine, son of Fiachna; and of Comgan Mac Dacerda; and of Guari, son of Colman; and of Crimthann Cael, son of Aedh Ciri, King of Leinster; and of Cuana, son of Cailchíne, Laech Liathmuine [the hero of Liathmuine]; and of Bracan of Dairinis.

2. And in his book on the *Genealogies of the Saints*, the same author gives the pedigree thus:—

“Cummaine Fota, son of Fiachna, son of Fiachra, son of Duach, son of Maine, son of Cairpre, son of Core, son of Lughaidh, son of Ailill Flann beg.”

3. The Scholiast on the *Felire of Aengus* has preserved the following Rann, or short historical poem:—

Muğam, inžen Fiachna fínn,  
maðair Cummaine ceoilbín;  
rírí Muğam a maðair  
reiríur dírí deirbraðair

Mughain, daughter of Fiachna the fair,  
Mother of Cummaine of the sweet tones;  
This Mughain was his mother,  
He to her was brother.

.i. da mac .x. po gempat uairé, .i. pe herpoic, ⁊ pe rí, im Cummin, im Corúgall.

Twelve sons were born of her, viz. six bishops and six kings, including Cummin, and Comhgall.

The six bishops and six kings, however, are not enumerated.

4. Again, in the Martyrology of Marianus Gorman, at the 12th of November, we have the following account of St. Cummain Fota:—

Cummin Fota mac Fiachna do Coğa-naét Loéa Léin, Eppcob Cluana fepeta bre-naimn. Aod a céb ann diler, ⁊ Opuim da-litrep ann a baile.

Cummain Fota, son of Fiachna, of the Eoghachacht of Loch Lein, Bishop of Clonfert Brenainn. Aodh was his proper name first, and Druimdaliter was the name of his town.

5. The Martyrology of Donegal has the same account of St. Cummain in the same words, but adds the following:—

Do phlocht Cuipo mic ūngoech, mic Oilolla Flainn bicc, mic Piaðac Muille-tam, mic Coğam moip, mic Oilolla Oluim

He was of the race of Core, son of Lughaidh, son of Oilíoll Flann Beg, son of Fiacha Muillethan, son of Eoghan Mor, son of Oilíoll Oluim<sup>1</sup>. And

<sup>1</sup> Oilíoll Oluim.—See the Genealogical Table in O'Donovan's *Battle of Magh Rath*, p. 343, from which, with the genealogy above given, we can

complete the pedigree of St. Cummain from his ancestor Oilíoll Oluim, King of Munster, who died A. D. 234:—thus—Oilíoll Oluim,—Eoghan mor.—



do, 7 Rimb a deirbhíur fein ba maéar do,  
aínaíl ar pollar in a beáir. Míbe an oí  
naoitha do ba buime do. Leartar neena  
a amhrípe an peirra. Píoiseptar eargna  
bpeirpe De.

Aéir Críst an ean no fáth a ppríre do  
cum míne 661.

Aéir an fein leabhar memram, aó  
labairt ar bpríre, i. Feb. 7 ar Pátraice  
17<sup>th</sup> Mar. 50 míbe Cummain Fota eoraml a  
mbeairt 7 a mbeairt pe Dhríoir mopa-  
lum.

6. The Four Masters, at the year 661, give the following account of St. Cummain, together with a short historical poem on his death:—

S. Cummine Fota mac Fiachna eppcop  
Cluana Ferta Brenainn, decc, in dapa la  
de 8 do November. Colman ua Cluasaigh,  
oíbe Cummine, no fáth na panna

Ní beir Luinneach pop a dpuim,  
de ríl Muirneach il Leth Chuinn,  
mapan in noi ba fá do.  
do Cummine mac Fiachna.

Ma do teigebh neach tar muir,  
peiréad in fáir nDhríoir,  
maó a hEir ní buí do  
míbe Cummine Fota.

Mo cuíhara iar eCummine,  
on lo no foilgeó a áre,  
coi mo cuil nír nngairé  
dopógaill iar nderach a bapc.

Rimb, his sister, was herself also his mother, as is manifest in his Life. Midhe<sup>u</sup> [i. e. St. Ita] the holy virgin was his nurse. A vessel of learning was this man in his time, a learned preacher of the Word of God.

The year of Christ when he resigned his spirit to heaven was 661.

The old parchment book says, in speaking of Brigid (1st Febr.), and of Patrick (17th March), that Cummain Fota in his manners and life resembled Gregory Moralium<sup>u</sup>.

St. Cummine Fota, son of Fiachna, Bishop of Cluain Ferta Brenainn, died the twelfth day of November. Colman O'Cluasaigh, tutor of Cummine, composed these verses:—

Never did the Luinneach<sup>x</sup> bear on its back,  
Of the race of Munster, into Leth Chuinn<sup>y</sup>,  
A corpse in a boat so precious as he,  
As Cummine son of Fiachna.

If any one went across the sea  
To sit in the chair of Gregory<sup>z</sup>,  
If from Ireland, it was not meet for him,  
Except he was Cummine Fota.

Ah! woe is me after Cummine!  
From the day that his corpse was covered in,  
My eyelids drop tears, there has not ceased  
Mourning, since the destruction of his boat<sup>z</sup>.

Fiacha Muilleathan (King of Munster, A. D. 260),—  
Oilioll Flan beg (King of Munster),—Lugdach-Core  
(King of Munster),—Cairpre Luachra,—Maine,—  
Duach Iarlaithe,—Fiachra-Gairine,—Fiachna,—  
Cummain Fota.

<sup>u</sup> *Midhe*.—For *mo Ida*, my Ida, or my Ita. Colgan has explained this mode of expressing devotion to a saint.—*Acta SS.*, p. 71, n. 2, 3. A corresponding phrase,—*Our Lord, Our Lady, My God*,—is still in use.

<sup>y</sup> *Gregory Moralium*.—See above, p. 70.

<sup>x</sup> *The Luinneach*.—This was the name of the

Lower Shannon, from Limerick to the sea.

<sup>y</sup> *Leth Chuinn*.—Conn's half; the Northern half of Ireland.

<sup>z</sup> *The chair of Gregory*.—i. e. to become Pope. Gregory the Great was celebrated amongst the Irish. See O'Donovan's note, Four Masters, A. D. 590, and O'Flaherty's West Connaught, p. 80.

<sup>z</sup> *Of his boat*.—Or, "of his bier." It was the custom to destroy the bier after the interment of the corpse. The death of Colman O'Cluasaigh, the writer of these verses, is recorded at the same year by the Four Masters.

7. The following curious story, in which Cummain Fota, Guaire Aidhne, and St. Caimine, of Inis Cealtra, are brought together, is told by the Scholiast on the Felire of Aengus, and has been loosely translated by Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 746. It occurs in a note on the twenty-fifth of March, which was the festival of St. Caimin:—

Peachtar do Thuairpe Aibne ⁊ do Chumain Fota ⁊ do Caimin muirí Cealtra i n-eccleair i muirí Cealtra for loð nDeirec-ðeire, eðon in eccleair móir do rionadh la Caimine ann. Ba tatarroin ðin aḡ taðairt anncair-ðeire for Thuairpe. Maith a Thuairpe, ol Caimine, eib beith maith lae do lionadh na heccleair i tátam. Preccair Thuairpe he, ⁊ ipeð a dubairt, po ba maith linn a lan di or ⁊ baiceate, ⁊ in ar raint an doinamir, aét dia tioslatacá for mannam do naemhaibh, ⁊ do eccleairibh, ⁊ ba gaé nech do iarrpaibh e aibéna. Do rað Dia purtaét duit a Thuairpe, ol Caimine, ⁊ do beirtar duit an tairleétam do ronaib dia tabert ar t'annam, ⁊ robbia neih iaram. Ar buide linn, ol Thuairpe. Tura imorro, a Chumain, ar Thuairpe, eib beith maith lae do beith ann. Ro rað maith linn, ar Cumain, a lan do leabpaibh dia toideét do aer leiginn, ⁊ do ríolað bpeit-e De i ccluarib caid dia tabert do lupce diabail do éum an conideét. Tura imorro, a Caimine, ol iatet, eib beith maith laetia do beith ann. Preccair Caimine iad, ⁊ ippead a dubairt, po ba maith linn a lan do raet ⁊ do galap do beith in corp, ⁊ me peim occ imulanz mo pian.

Ro rpiet imorro a niompaite o Dia .i. an talan do Thuairpe, ⁊ ecena do Cumain Fota, ⁊ do rabad raeth, ⁊ galap do Chamfne, conach deachad enan de ppiarile i tatalmann, aet po leḡad imorro a ríoil ⁊ a pecae pe hamecraib ḡach galap dia mboi pair. Co ndeacatar imorro for neamh uile la nmpaiteib i n-eccleair. FINIS.

Once upon a time that Guaire Aidhne and Cummain Fota, and Caimine of Inis Cealtra, were in the church of Inis Cealtra in Loch Deirgdheire, namely, the great church that was built by Caimine there; they were then giving spiritual counsel to Guaire. "Well, O Guaire," said Caimine, "what wouldst thou wish to have this church in which we are filled with?" Guaire answered him and said, "I would wish to have it full of gold and silver; and not from covetousness of this world, but that I might give it for [the good of] my soul to saints and churches, and in like manner to every one that would ask for it." "God will give thee help, O Guaire," said Caimine, "and will grant thee the expectation thou hast formed for the good of thy soul; and hereafter thou shalt possess heaven." "We are thankful," said Guaire. "But thou, O Cummain," said Guaire, "what wouldst thou wish to have in it?" "I would wish," said Cummain, "to have it full of books to instruct studious men, and to disseminate the word of God into the ears of all; to bring them from following the devil unto the Lord." "But thou, O Caimine," said they, "what wouldst thou wish to have in it?" Caimine answered them and said, "I would wish to have the full of it of disease and sickness to be on my body, and myself to be suffering my pain."

And so they obtained their wishes from God, viz. the earth to Guaire, wisdom to Cummain Fota, and sickness and disease to Caimine, so that not one bone of him remained united to the other on earth, but his flesh dissolved, and his nerves, with the excess of every disease that fell upon him. So that they all went to heaven according to their wishes [expressed] in the church. Finis.

II.—It remains now to make some remarks on the foregoing authorities, including the Scholiast's Preface in the *Liber Hymnorum*.

1. The history of the unhappy lady who was the mother of St. Cummain is obscure

and unsatisfactory in almost every particular. Her very name is given variously. The Scholiast of the *Liber Hymnorum* calls her *Flann*, or *Lann*. Aengus the Culdee gives her the name of *Rim*, or *Rimh*, and she is also so called in the Martyrology of Donegal. Colgan, quoting the former authority, gives her the same name in the Latinized form *Rima*\*, but adds, “rectius *Mugania*,” which last is her appellation in the ancient Rann preserved by the Scholiast on the Felire of St. Aengus. She is also called *Mughain* in the modern interpolated version of her story, in the Betham MS. quoted above, p. 81, note. The reason of these different appellations does not appear.

2. The account given of her sons is also full of difficulties. In the extract above quoted from Aengus, *De Matribus Sanctorum*, she is said to have been the mother of six sons, viz.:

(1.) *Cummaine*, or Cummain, the son of her father Fiachna.

(2.) *Comgan-Mac Dacerda*, who was so called, not because he was the son of Dacerda, as might at first sight appear to be the meaning of the words, but (as the title is explained) because he was of weak intellect, with occasional fits of prophetic inspiration, so that he was called *Mac da cherda*<sup>b</sup>, the boy or youth of two arts, viz. the extreme of folly, and the extreme of knowledge. He is mentioned in the Life of St. Molagga, as printed by Colgan, and in the “*Acts of the idiots Comdhan* (or *Comghan*) and *Conall*,” quoted by the same author<sup>c</sup>.

A copy of this last work (but unfortunately a very bad one) is preserved in the Betham MS. (22 a), in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy; and in it we find the following account of Comgan Mac da Cerda:—

He was the son of Maolochtair, King of the Decies of Munster, and of Mughain, daughter of Fiachna, son of Fiachra Gairine. Some time after his birth, Mughain, stung with remorse for the scandal which had arisen from her early history, consulted her son Cummain, and by his advice resolved upon separating from her husband Maolochtair, and devoting the rest of her days to seclusion and penitence. This resolution being

\* *Rima*.—Colgan. *Acta SS.*, p. 148, n. 4.

<sup>b</sup> *Mac da cherda*.—In the Life of St. Molagga (Colgan. *Acta SS.*, p. 145), he is called “*Comdhanus cognomento Mac da-chearda*,” and Colgan tells us: “Lusit in ipso mirabiliter natura, vel verius divina voluntas, cujus mirâ dispositione plerumque hominis rationis usu seu iudicio carentis, aliquando etiam, quando lucida quedam habuit intervalla, sagacissimi et prudentissimi actus exercebat, responsaque dabat sapientissima, quæ veluti oracula accipiebantur: et hinc cognomentum *da-*

*cheard*, i. e. *duarum artium* accepit, quia nempe nunc extreme fatuus, mox summe prudens.”—Colgan, *ib.* p. 149, n. 8. The belief that idiots are under an occasional inspiration from heaven is still common in Ireland.

<sup>c</sup> *The same author*.—He says: “Vide plura de ipso . . . in *actis Comdhani et Conalli idiotarum*; in quibus in apographo quod vidi, inter plura vera, quedam apocrypha et fabulosa, maxime de S. Declano et Molagga referuntur.”—*Acta SS.*, p. 149, n. 7.

accomplished, Maelochtair married another wife, Ailgineach, daughter of Maoldubh, who, after some time, conceived a criminal passion for Comgan, her stepson, who was remarkable for manly beauty, grace, and accomplishments. He was insensible to her blandishments, and her love was converted into the most deadly hatred. On one occasion, a fair and assembly having been held by the men of Munster in South Tipperary, Comgan carried off the victory in all the sports and exercises of the day, and won the applause of all spectators. Maelochtair's Druid was especially charmed with his prowess, and celebrated his praises above all the rest. The malicious stepmother, seeing this, accosted the Druid, and said to him, "You are the last person who ought to praise Comgan, for he is criminally attached to your wife, and has access to her at his pleasure. Observe him when he rides around to receive the congratulations of the ladies, and you will see that your wife regards him with peculiar favour." "If this be so," said the Druid, "his power of acquiring favour with her or any other woman shall cease for ever." Soon after, Comgan arrived at the head of his troop of cavalry, and rode around the assembly, according to custom, to receive the congratulations of the fair ladies who were witnesses of his success, and addressed to each some courteous words; to the Druid's wife amongst the rest. Although the unconscious Comgan in reality paid no more court to her than to others, yet to the Druid's eyes, already filled with jealousy, his passing compliment seemed an undoubted confirmation of all the suspicions with which his mind had been poisoned; and when Comgan retired to wash his horses and himself in a neighbouring river, the Druid followed him, and suddenly struck him with a magical wand, or, according to another account, flung upon him a wisp of straw, over which had been pronounced some fiendish incantation. The result was, that when Comgan arose from bathing, his flesh burst forth in boils and ulcers, and his attendants were forced to carry him to his father's house. At the end of the year he had wasted away, his hair fell off, his intellect decayed, and he became a bald and senseless idiot, keeping company only with the fools and mountebanks of his father's court.

Some time after, his half-brother Cummain was invited to accept the primacy of Armagh, and having prayed to the Lord, with fasting, for direction in the case, an angel appeared to him and repeated two lines of a quatrain, which he was directed to commit to memory, and then go in search of the person who could supply the other two lines, from whom he should receive the advice he sought. Cummain therefore went about repeating the lines to every one, but without finding anybody who could complete the quatrain. At length he went to the palace of Maelochtair, to visit his brother, whom he found asleep in the Stranger's Hall of the palace. Cummain addressed him in verse, repeating two lines, which contained an allusion to his unhappy condition. Comgan answered in two other lines, which corresponded to or rhymed with Cummain's, who replied by another distich, and so they went on until they had



arrived at the ninth quatrain, when Cummain began the tenth by repeating the verses taught him by the angel, which were these:—

Seibhí rannáir eap n-buib-berg  
ma n-bpégab alla uirb

The smith's-tongs grasp a black-red bar,  
Upon which falls the ponderous sledge.

Comgan immediately replied:—

Seemhó tmeann ap gac leic  
ma peó pemhó na buig

Sparkles fly upon all sides,  
Whilst all around the bellows play<sup>d</sup>.

It was then that Cummain gave him the name of Mac da Cerda<sup>e</sup>, or the youth of two arts, or professions, viz. folly and poetry.

(3.) *Guaire*, son of Colman, was King of Connaght, and celebrated for his liberality and hospitality. He died A. D. 662, according to the Four Masters. See his genealogy in O'Donovan's *Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach* (p. 61, and Geneal. Table). The Four Masters, at A. D. 662, quote a Poem in which it is said that the mother of Guaire was *Cumman*, daughter of Dalbronach, who was also the mother of St. Caimin of Inis-Cealtra. It is impossible, however, that this Cumman, who is said to have been blessed by St. Patrick<sup>f</sup>, and who was the sister of St. Brigid, could have been the mother of King Guaire, who died in 662. The same *Rann*, however, quoted by the Four Masters, states that "seven and seventy sons were born of her,"

moirpep ap peachtmožar, ap peó po ženap uatē,

which Colgan qualifies by adding, "nempe ex ejus semine;" and we may therefore be permitted to receive with the same qualification the statement that she was the mother of Guaire. In the list of her sons given by Aengus, in his tract *De Matribus Sanctorum*, we find the name of Cainine of Inis-Cealtra, but not that of King Guaire; and the entire number of saints who sprang from her (in consequence of St. Patrick having blessed her womb) is said to be seven and forty,—conab ap pin po ženebap uatē moirpep ap bñ pñtñb do naemab, "so that on that account [viz. St.

<sup>d</sup> *Play*.—The reader will perceive that the rhyme is in the vowels of the words *berg* and *leic*; *uirb* and *buig*, according to the usage of Irish metre. His being able to improvise these rhymes proved Comgan to be the counsellor indicated by the angel of whom Cummain was in search.

<sup>e</sup> *Mac da Cerda*.—The foregoing narrative is abridged from the original, and is not to be regarded as a translation: it has been thought worthy of preservation here as a specimen of the ancient Irish

historical tales or romances. Maelochtair, the father of Comgan, seems to have been a Pagan prince: but if so, he was afterwards converted to Christianity, for the author of the Irish Life of St. Mochuda tells us:—"It was this Maelochtair that afterwards gave the ground upon which the Church of Lismore was built, to Mochuda, when he was banished from Rathau."

<sup>f</sup> *St. Patrick*.—See Aengus, "On the Mothers of the Saints," in the Book of Leacan.

Patrick's blessing] there were born of her two score and seven saints." Assuming, then, that these forty-seven (or seventy-seven, if the other account be adopted) were not her immediate children, but only her descendants (as Colgan suggests), it is probable that a too literal adherence to the words of the ancient authorities gave rise to the opinion that Guaire and Caimin were her sons. Perhaps, also, there was some confusion between the names of Cumine and Caimine, and that the statement that Cumine the Long and Guaire had the same mother, was the origin of the mistake that Caimine of Inis-Cealtra was half-brother to Guaire. A similarity or identity of name in Irish saints has been a frequent cause of confusion and error. Colgan has enumerated more than twenty saints of the name of Cumin, Cumian, Caimin, Cumen, &c., all which are, in fact, the same name in different spellings.—*Acta SS.* p. 59.

(4.) *Crimlthann Cael* is also said to have been her son. His father was Aedh Cirr, King of Leinster, who died, according to the Four Masters, A. D. 591.

(5.) *Cuana*, son of Cailchine, or Ailchine, was King or Chief of Fermaighe (Fermoy), and was called Laech Liathmhuine, the hero of Liathmhuine, or Cloch Liathmhuine, in the parish of Kilgullane, barony of Fermoy<sup>g</sup>. He died, according to the Four Masters, A. D. 640, and was celebrated for his hospitality and generosity, in which virtues he was the rival of Guaire, King of Connaught. He is mentioned in the Life of St. Molagga, published by Colgan, and a singular instance is there given of a contest of liberality between him and Guaire, to which they were excited by certain Pagan Druids for the hope of gain, and which ended in Cuana's being induced by the Druids to abandon to plunder and massacre, as an act of generosity !! the town of Carn-chuilinn<sup>h</sup> and its inhabitants.

(6.) *Brecan* of Dairinis. No mention of this saint is made in the Martyrologies, nor in Colgan's works, nor is he noticed in the Annals. I am, therefore, unable to give any account of him, the passage before us being (so far as I know) the only ancient authority in which his name occurs. There are two islands called *Dairinis*, celebrated as the abode of holy men: one in Munster, near Lismore (which is probably that here mentioned as the residence of St. Brecan), the other in Leinster, in the region of Hy Cinnselagh, near Wexford.—Colgan. *Acta SS.* p. 397, n. 7.

The most suspicious circumstance in these narratives is the fact that Mumhain Rimh, or Flann, the mother of St. Cummain Fota, appears to have had so many hus-

<sup>g</sup> *Fermoy*.—See O'Donovan's note at A. D. 640, Four Masters.

<sup>h</sup> *Carn-chuilinn*.—Vit. St. Molaggæ, c. x. ap. Colgan. *Acta SS.* p. 146, who states (p. 149, n. 14), that the acts of Cuana, written by his contemporary Fiach, were extant in the book of Clonmacnois in his time:—"Extant hodie in celebri illo et vetusto

codice Cluanensi, quem *Leabhar na huidri* vocant." The fragment of this MS., now preserved in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy (if it be the same as that referred to by Colgan), does not contain this work. There is an account of the death of Cuana in the Book of Leinster (MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin), fol. 199.

bands, and but one son by each of them. The unfortunate event which gave birth to St. Cummain occurred (as it would seem) whilst she was still in her father's house, and as yet unmarried. St. Cummain was born in 589, or 590; it follows, therefore, that Aedh Cirr (the father of Crimlthan Cael), must have been her first husband, as he is recorded to have died in 591. She was afterwards married to Colman, King of Connaught, and to Cailchinne, the father of Cuana, chieftain of Fermoy, but in what order does not appear, as the dates of their deaths are not preserved. Her fourth<sup>1</sup>, and last husband, if we can trust the romantic history of Mac da Cerda, was Maelochtair, King of the Decies of Munster, from whom she was separated, as above related; after which she devoted herself to a religious life.

Her history, however, although strange and romantic, contains nothing impossible or inconsistent; and we may even go so far as to say, that the illegitimacy and irregularity attributed to St. Cummain's birth, as well as to that of many other British and Irish saints, ought to be considered as a remarkable evidence of the substantial truth of these narratives; for it is not to be supposed that writers of mere fiction would gratuitously represent those whom they wished to set forth as models of sanctity and ecclesiastical perfection, to have been born in horrible incest and fornication, if they had not been compelled to do so by the notorious facts of history<sup>k</sup>.

And a little reflection will convince the reader that in the age to which these narratives refer, nothing is more probable than that children born under such irregular and criminal circumstances should be devoted to the religious life, and brought up in the monasteries. This, in fact, is one of the many evidences of the benign and civilizing influence exercised by the Church<sup>1</sup> over a rude and barbarous age, in which Paganism still continued to exist side by side with Christianity, and still retained no small influence over both chieftains and people. The child of crime, devoted to immediate death by its unnatural parent, was often saved by some pious hand, or by maternal yearning, and conveyed to the nearest religious house, there to be brought up in the faith. And hence many who, like St. Cummain Fota, were the offspring of fearful guilt, were led to devote themselves, perhaps for that very reason, and with

<sup>1</sup> *Her fourth*.—The father of St. Breacan of Dairinis is not named. If he was different from those whose names are given, then Maelochtair was her fifth husband.

<sup>k</sup> *Facts of history*.—Many similar instances are to be found in the lives of the Irish saints. St. Brigid herself was born of a concubine out of wedlock. St. Cuthbert was the offspring of fornication, as was also St. Ailbe (*Ussher's Works*, vol. vi. p. 333): and we shall have occasion to mention others in the course of this work. The same was also the case

with the British and Scottish saints. For example, St. Kentigern (*Ussher. ib.* p. 222), St. Kynedus, whose birth was exactly similar to that of St. Cummain (*ib.* p. 45), St. Faustus, "ex horrendo incestu natus" (*ib.* vol. v. p. 440), and St. David (Colgan. *Acta SS.* p. 425), may be mentioned to show that the fact here noticed was not peculiar to the saints of Ireland..

<sup>1</sup> *The Church*.—See the case of St. German adopting the son of Gortigern, the offspring of incest.—*Irish Nennius*, p. 91.

a view to expiate the stain of their birth, to the most rigid practices of penitence and devotion.

Of the history of St. Cummain Fota but few facts are preserved. He appears to have been celebrated for learning, for he is represented to have been named by St. Columba, or rather, perhaps, the successor of St. Columba in the Abbey of Hy, as the director and spiritual adviser of King Domhnall. The legend of Guaire Aidhne and St. Camine of Inis-cealtra, above given at length, represents him as wishing to have the church filled with books of learning, for the propagation of the Gospel and of the Word of God; and in the parallel between the Irish and European saints (see p. 69, *supra*), he is said to have been similar in life and habits, "unius vitæ et moris," with St. Gregory the Great, the author of the *Liber Moralium*.

He is recorded by the Four Masters to have been Bishop of Clonfert, and from the short poem on his death, which they have preserved (see p. 86, *supra*), it appears that he died in the southern half of Ireland, probably in his native country, and with his own tribe; and that his body was carried to *Leth Chuinn*, the northern half of Ireland, along the Shannon, to be buried, most probably, at his Cathedral Church at Clonfert; for they afterwards tell us, that in 1162 his relics were taken from the earth, and placed in a shrine by the clergy of that Cathedral.

The same authority has also informed us (see p. 86) that the tutor of St. Cummain was Colman Ua Cluasaigh, who died shortly after his pupil, in the same year, A. D. 661.

The festival day of St. Cummain Fota in the Calendar of the ancient Irish Church was the 12th of November.



## IV. THE HYMN OR PRAYER OF ST. MUGINT.

THIS Hymn is in prose, and is composed in imitation of one of the Penitential Psalms of David. It has never been printed before.

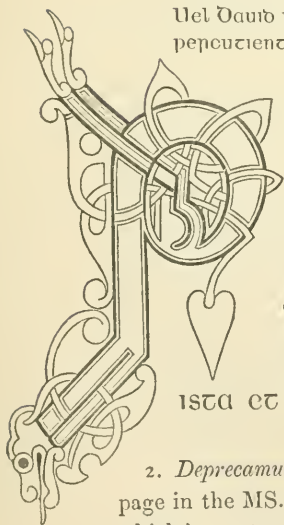
A translation of the Preface will be given in the Additional Notes, where the occasion on which the Hymn was composed, and the history and date of its author, will be discussed. The text in the MS. is not accompanied by any interlineary gloss.

The verses are numbered in the margin for the convenience of reference, although no such numbers occur in the original MS.

The first verse, *Parce Domine*, is evidently founded upon Joel, ii. 17. It occurs (preceded by the Antiphon *Ne reminiscaris*) in the Breviary of Sarum, and also in the Breviary of Aberdeen, *after* the seven Penitential Psalms; thus:—"Ne reminiscaris Domine delicta nostra, vel parentum nostrorum, neque vindictam sumas de peccatis nostris." The rubric adds, "*Non dicitur ulterius quando dicitur in choro*, Parce Domine, parce populo tuo quem redemisti precioso sanguine tuo, ne in eternum irascaris nobis; et ne des hæreditatem tuam in perditionem, ne in æternum obliviscaris nobis [*sic*]."—*Brev. Sar. (De Sanctis, fol. li.) Paris. (F. Byrekman) 1516, fol. Brev. Aberdon. [reprint by Tovey] (Psalter, fol. lxxviii.)* Both verses are still retained in the Litany of the Anglican Church, but without the clause *et ne des hæreditatem*, &c. In the modern Roman Breviary the verse *Ne reminiscaris* only (which seems to have been founded on Tobit, iii. 3) occurs as an Antiph. *before* the Penitential Psalms, the verse *Parce Domine* being omitted.



parce Dñe. Mugint fecit hunc s̃mnum hi put̃na. Caupa .i. Pinnen maige bile  
 ex̃it do f̃oglam co Mugint, ⁊ Rióc, ⁊ Talmach ⁊ cetepi alii pecum. D̃up̃t  
 p̃ex b̃netan tunc, ⁊ habuit filiam .i. D̃up̃tice nomen ei⁹, ⁊ deb̃it eam legendo co  
 Mugint, ⁊ amavit illa Rióc, ⁊ dixit Pinniano, Tribuam tibi om̃ep lib̃p̃or quor  
 habet Mugint pepibendum, si Rióc ded̃ip̃er mihi in matrimonium. Et mi⁹  
 Pinnen Talmach ad se illa nocte in p̃p̃nam Rióc, ⁊ cognovit eam, ⁊ inde concepit  
 ac nat⁹ e⁹ Lonán t̃p̃eote. Sed D̃up̃tice ep̃timavit quod Rióc eam cognovit, ⁊  
 dixit quod Rióc pater e⁹ p̃ilii. Sed pal̃p̃um e⁹, quia Rióc uirgo fuit. Ip̃atur  
 e⁹ Mugint tunc, ⁊ mi⁹ quendam p̃uep̃um in templum, ⁊ dixit ei si quip̃ p̃p̃i⁹ in  
 hac nocte ueniat ad te in templum p̃ep̃ute eum p̃eup̃e. Ideo dixit quia p̃p̃i⁹  
 Pinnian⁹ p̃ep̃gebat ad templum. Sed tamen illa nocte, D̃om̃ino imp̃igante, ip̃e  
 Mugint p̃p̃i⁹ eccl̃ie p̃ep̃uenit, ⁊ p̃ep̃urp̃it eum p̃uep̃, p̃p̃oeta dicente, Conuer  
 t̃ur d̃olop̃ ei⁹, ⁊ in uerticem ip̃i⁹ inquitur ei⁹ d̃ep̃cend̃et. Et tunc dixit  
 Mugint, Parce, quia putauit inimic⁹ populum populari. Uel com̃ad aip̃e do g̃net  
 in imm̃p̃a ap̃ na cap̃ta a eim̃ p̃op̃ in popul. Uel Ambp̃ori⁹ fecit dia m̃bai i ñgalur.  
 Uel Dauid fecit, ut alii dicunt, p̃eb̃ non uerum, ãet ip̃ huad̃ tucad̃ D̃ie angelo tuo  
 p̃ep̃cutienti, ip̃que populo tuo.



PARCE domine parce populo tuo quem redemisti  
 christe sanguine tuo et non in eternum irasceris  
 nobis.

Deprecamur te domine in omni misericordia tua  
 ut auferatur furor tuus et ira tua a ciuitate  
 ista et de domu sancta tua. Quoniam peccauimus pec-

2. *Deprecamur.*—This word begins a page in the MS., on the upper margin of which is a note, of which only a few words are now legible. Like many of the notes written on the upper margins in this MS., it appears to have had no connexion with the text. It is not worth while, therefore, to collect the scattered fragments of

it that are still visible, which are of no value. *In ciuitate ista.*—The mention of a *ciuitas* here and in v. 5 seems to imply that this Prayer or Psalm was written to deprecate the wrath of the Almighty from some town or city: and probably on the occasion of a plague, as may be inferred from ver. 10.

cauimus tibi domine et tu iratus es nobis et non est qui  
 4 effugiat manum tuam. Sed supplicemus ut ueniat super nos  
 misericordia tua domine qui in Ninuen pepercisti inuocantes  
 5 dominum. Exclamemus ut respicias populum tuum concu-  
 catum et dolentem et protegas templum sanctum tuum ne  
 ab impiis contaminetur et miserearis nimis applicte ciuitati  
 6 tue. Exclamamus omnes ad dominum dicentes.

7 **P**eccauimus tibi domine peccauimus patientiam habe in  
 nobis et erue nos a malis que quotidie crescunt super  
 8 nos. Dimitte domine peccato populi tui secundum multitu-  
 dinem misericordie tue.

9 **P**ropitius fuisti patribus nostris propitius esto nobis  
 10 et implebitur gloria tua in uniuersa tua. Recordare  
 domine die angelo tuo percutienti populum tuum sufficit.  
 contine manum tuam et cesset interfectio que grassatur in  
 populo ut non perdas omnem animam uiuentem.

11 **E**xurge domine adiuua nos et redime nos propter n. t.

Parce domine peccantibus ignore penitentibus miserepe  
 nobis te rogantibus saluator omnium xpe percipe in nos ihu ⁊  
 miserepe. Amen.

3. *Qui effugiat*.—Conf. Tobit, xiii. 2.

4. *In Ninuen*.—On this word there are two notes in the margins of the MS.; that on the right-hand margin is as follows:—“i. Ninue civitas magna fuit itineris [*sic*] trium dierum, que egit penitentiam in predicatione Jonae profetæ, et sic liberata est.” The note on the left-hand margin is this:—“Ninuen pulera interpreta-  
 tur. . dum significat. Alii ex nomine Nini Beli filii. i. inum urbem condidirunt [*sic*]

magnum, quam ebrei Ninuen appellant.” —Conf. Jona, iii. 3.

9. *In uniuersa tua*.—We ought evidently to read “in uniuersa terra.”

10. *Dic angelo*.—2 Reg. xxiv. 16, 21.

11. *Propter n. t.*—That is, “propter nomen tuum.” The short prayer that follows is in a different character. *Pec-  
 cantibus, penitentibus, rogantibus*, are evidently intended to rhyme.

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## ADDITIONAL NOTES.

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### NOTE A.

#### *The Scholiast's Preface.*

**T**HE following is a translation of the Preface, which, as usual, is a mixture of Latin and Irish; the former language in this instance predominating. It will be seen that this mixture of languages extends to proper names; the Celtic form *Finnen*, and the Latinized *Finnianus*, being used indifferently.

**PARCE DOVE ET.** Mugint made this Hymn in Futerna. The cause was this:—Finnen of Magh Bile went to Mugint for instruction, and Rioc and Talmach, and several others with him. Drust was King of Britain then, and had a daughter, viz. Drustice was her name, and he gave her to Mugint to be taught to read; and she fell in love with Rioc, and she said to Finnian, I will give thee all the books which Mugint has, that thou mayest translate them, if thou wilt give me Rioc in marriage. And Finnen sent Talmach to her that night in the form of Rioc, and he knew her, and from thence was conceived and born Lonan of Treoit. But Drustice supposed that Rioc had known her, and she said that Rioc was the father of her son. But this was false, because Rioc was a virgin. Then Mugint was wroth, and sent a certain youth into the Temple, and said to him, Whosoever comes first unto thee this night into the Temple, smite him with an axe. He said this because Finnian was in the habit of going first to the Temple: but notwithstanding, on that night, by the providence of the Lord, Mugint himself went first to the church, and the youth smote him, as the Prophet says: “For his travail shall come [upon his own head], and his wickedness shall fall on his own pate.”—[Ps. vii. 17.] And then Mugint said *Parce*, because he thought that the enemies would spoil the people. Or, this was the cause why this Hymn was made, that the sin thereof might not be visited upon the people.

Or, Ambrose composed it when he was in sickness.

Or, David composed it, as others say, but this is not true, although it is from him are taken [the words], *Dic angelo tuo percutienti*, as far as *populo tuo*.

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### NOTE B.

#### *Of the Historical Personages mentioned in the Scholiast's Preface.*

THE story of Mugint and his repentance, as told in the Scholiast's Preface, notwithstanding the singular circumstances which it details, is confirmed by Irish history



and in its main facts is consistent with the chronology of the parties concerned, as well as with other authentic traditions. The discreditable conduct which it attributes to individuals of high reputation is, perhaps, to be regarded as an argument in favour of its substantial truth; and the age of the MS. in which it occurs proves it to have been derived from records or traditions of great antiquity, and not very far removed from the time in which the transactions in question must have taken place.

We shall proceed to examine in detail the history of the personages who figure in the story, with a view to determine its probability or authenticity, and to fix as far as possible its chronology.

### I. *St. Finnen, or Finnian, of Maghbile.*

The story opens by the statement that St. Finnen, or Finnian, of Maghbile, now Movilla<sup>a</sup>, in the parish of Newtown-ards, diocese of Down, was a student under one Mugint, at a place called *Futerna*; and that this Mugint, provoked by the circumstances detailed in the narrative, laid a snare for St. Finnian's life, which ended in his receiving himself the wound which was designed for Finnian.

This story is told in both the lives of St. Finnian, under the continental name of Frigidianus, or Frigidianus (which have been published by Colgan, at the 18th of March<sup>b</sup>), without any essential difference, except that they omit the adventure of Drustic, as well as all mention of Rioc and Talmach; and they attribute the enmity of Mugint against St. Finnian to jealousy, arising from the lectures or sermons of St. Finnian having been more popular, and better attended than his own.

These Lives, which were both compiled on the Continent, take for granted that Frigidianus, Bishop of Lucca, in Italy, and Finnian of Maghbile, in Ireland, were one and the same person. Whether this be so or not is a question with which we are not now concerned. The Irish traditions respecting St. Finnian may have been interwoven into the life of a different person; but it may not be the less certain that the traditions so employed are authentic and ancient. In the present case there cannot be a doubt that the story of Mugint told by these Lives is derived from the same source as that recorded by the Scholiast of the Book of Hymns.

The narratives of the two continental Lives are so nearly identical, that it will suffice to quote the former of them, which tells the tale in these words:—

*Igitur dum B. Fridianus contemplationi, orationi, et elemosinarum largitioni pie intenderet, doctrina quoque non minima claruit. Unde factum est quod Magister suus, Mugentius nomine, qui in civitate,*

<sup>a</sup> *Movilla*.—See Reeves' *Ecl. Antiq. of Down and Connor*, p. 151.

<sup>b</sup> *March*.—Colgan. *Acta Sanctorum*. pp. 633, et sq.

quæ dicitur *Candida*, liberales disciplinas eum docuerat, (ubi etiam dicitur Episcopi officio<sup>c</sup> vir sanctus functus fuisse), excandens iracundia, cum duobus discipulis suis qui secum remanserant (nam plures ad B. Fridianum audiendum convenerant) machinatus est, ut ipsum nocturno silentio dolo perimeret: et quod palam in sancto viro et Regis filio<sup>d</sup> facere non poterat, occulte implevit. Pravitatis ergo consilio firmatus, cum securibus ad ostium Ecclesiæ discipuli Mugentii accedunt, diligenter custodientes, ut virum sanctum ante omnes ad matutinas surgentem in atrio ecclesiæ occiderent, et occulte sepelirent, ne tantum nefas ad eamquam notitiam perveniret. Sed Angelus Domini, qui ipsum ex divino mandato ecclesiæ suæ servare volebat, ei unum de calceamentis abstulit, quod dum circumquaque B. Fridianus aberrando quæreretur, Mugentius ad ostium pervenit ecclesiæ, ubi ab insidiatoribus B. Fridiani leva dextraque percussus interiit. Tandem ut prudens recognoscens reatum suum, continuo exclamavit: *Parce Domine, parce populo tuo, et ne des hereditatem tuam in opprobrium.* Parce bone Fridiane, parce, laqueum paravi, et incidi in eum. Tali ergo confessionis compendio in spe salutis Mugentius vitam finivit.

S. autem Fridianus, quasi alter David, dolens de morte inimici sui, dimissâ gente<sup>e</sup> et patriâ suâ, abiit in Hiberniam, et in loco qui vocatur Macbilib<sup>f</sup>, habitum religionis<sup>g</sup> sumpsit, et ut sequentiâ luce clarius demonstrant, bonis operibus adimplevit."

The date of St. Finnian is usually ascertained from the mention of him in the Lives of St. Columbkille<sup>h</sup>, where we read that the dispute between them about a book which St. Columbkille had borrowed from St. Finnian, and copied without the owner's

<sup>c</sup> *Episcopi officio*.—This is improbable, and inconsistent with the story as told by the Scholiast in the Book of Hymns, according to which Finnian was with Mugint, as a young man, for his education, and not as a rival teacher, much less a bishop, at that time.

<sup>d</sup> *Regis filio*.—St. Finnian is said to have been the son of a king of Ulster, whom some continental authors call *Ultach*, mistaking the adjective, which signifies *of Ulster*, for a proper name.—*Colgan. App. ad Vit. S. Fridiani*, c. v. (p. 649). His genealogy is thus given by Aengus the Culdee, in his Genealogies of the Saints, preserved in the Book of Leacan: "Finnbarr of Maghbile" [for so he is often called, see Colgan, *ib.* cap. 1] "was son of Cairpre, son of Ailill, son of Trichim, son of Fiech, son of Findchadh" [or *Inchad*, as Colgan has it], "son of Bresall, son of Sirchad, son of Fiathach Finn" [King of Ireland] "a quo Dal Fiathach." In his book *De Matribus Sanctorum*, the same author tells us that St. Finnian's mother was named *Lassair*, which serves to identify him with the St. Finan, or Winnin, whose life is given by Capgrave, in the *Legenda Angliæ* (see also Britannia Sancta) at 10th September (which is also the day at which St. Finnian of Maghbile is commemorated in

the Martyrology of Donegal). Capgrave's St. Winnin is said to have been Irish, and of noble birth, his father's name being *Carpheus*, and his mother's *Lassara*.

<sup>e</sup> *Dimissa gente*.—This clause seems inconsistent with the words *abiit in Hiberniam* which follow, since it is expressly stated that Hibernia was his native country. Colgan (p. 637, n. 6) proposes to read *per Hiberniam*, meaning that he left his family and country, viz. Ulster, and went through Ireland to Maghbile. But as Mugint's school was certainly not in Ireland, a more probable emendation would be "dimissâ gente et patriâ illâ, abiit in Hiberniam," which would give a good sense. Besides, it seems to have escaped Colgan's recollection that Movilla was in Ulster: and that if Ulster be what is meant by his country, Finnian did not quit his country when he settled at Movilla.

<sup>f</sup> *Macbilib*.—Meaning *Maghbile*, now *Movilla*.

<sup>g</sup> *Habitum religionis*.—The second Life published by Colgan from a MS. in the Chartreuse of Cologne, reads here, "habitum religionis Canoniorum regularium D. Augustini sumpsit."—See *Colgan. Append. c. 4*, p. 646.

<sup>h</sup> *St. Columbkille*.—See *Colgan. App. ad Vit. S. Frigidiani*, c. 3. *Acta SS.* p. 643 sq.

leave, led to the battle of Cuildreimhne, fought A. D. 561; at which time, therefore, both before and after that event, St. Finnian must have been in Ireland. The Lives also tell us that he visited Rome during the Pontificate of Pelagius I. (A. D. 555-560). But the Irish Annals record his death in the year 579<sup>1</sup>. We cannot therefore fix his school days at a period earlier than 500, or 520.

A similar result is obtained by an examination of the facts recorded in the English or British Life of "S. Finanus episcopus et confessor," published by Capgrave, in the *Legenda Angliæ*<sup>k</sup>. This St. Finanus, whom the Welsh called *Winnin* ("qui et Wallico nomine Winninus appellatur"), is identified, as we have seen, with St. Finnian of Maghbie, by his genealogy<sup>l</sup>. It is stated that he was first placed under the instruction of Colman, a Bishop, and afterwards sent to Coelanus abbot of Noendrum<sup>m</sup>, who, however, foreseeing his future eminence, refused to undertake his further education, and at Finnian's own suggestion, sent him away with a British Bishop named Nennio, who had just touched at the island of Nendrum, and was about to return to his See, called *Magnum Monasterium*. This story is thus told by the biographer:—

"Adveniente post hæc Colmanno antistite ad erudiendum docilis puer traditur, cum quo in omni obedientia et humilitate aliquot annis instructus est. Factum est aliquando dum beatus antistes manum suam ad sanctum puerum jam legentem<sup>n</sup> quadam de causa percutiendum cum flagello sursum extenderet, angelus Domini ipsam in aere suspensam retinuit. Quo facto Finanus in terra prostratus ait, Pater mi cur me non cedis? Et ille, Fili hoc volo facere, sed tamen divinitus impeditus sum. Ergo si vis flagellari ad alium magistrum ire te oportet; ego enim ab hac hora nunquam te corripiam. Et misit eum ad venerabilem

<sup>1</sup> *In the year 579.*—The Annals of Tighernach, and Chron. Scotorum, have "Quies Finiani episcopi nepotis Fiatach," at A. D. 579. And the Dublin MS. of the Ann. of Ulster, at 578, has "Quies Uinniani [which O'Connor prints erroneously *Umanian*] episcopi, mie nepotis Fiatach." The Annals of Inisfallen give the "Quies Finniæ Moigebile," under 572. But 579 is evidently the true date. Colgan, who had no access to the Annals of Ulster or Tighernach, assigns his death to A. D. 595.—*Acta SS.* p. 650. But Ughelli (*Italia Sacra*, tom. i. p. 794) says that St. Fridian died 13th March, 578, and that his body was found in the Church of St. Vincent, Lugan, and translated to a more honourable tomb on the 18th Nov. 782, on which day his festival has since been kept there. Ussher, identifying Finnian of Maghbie with St. Winnyn, places his return to Ireland from Rome at the year 540.—*Irish Chron. (Works)*, vol. vi. p. 590.

<sup>k</sup> *Legenda Angliæ.*—I quote from a copy entitled "Nova Legenda Angliæ. Impressa Londoniæ: in domo Winandi de Worde: commorantis ad signum solis in vico nuncupato (the flete strete) Anno dñi m.cccc.xvi. xxvij die Februarij." The Life of St. Finnian occurs fol. cxlvii. b.

<sup>l</sup> *Genealogy.* See above, p. 99, note <sup>d</sup>.

<sup>m</sup> *Noendrum*, or Nendrum.—Now Mahee Island, in Strangford Lough, so called from St. Mochaio, its patron saint. Dr. O'Connor, in various passages of the Annals, translates the name of this place *Antrim*: and the same error has been committed by Dr. Lanigan and others. Dr. Reeves was the first to ascertain, and fix beyond all question, the true situation of this once celebrated place.—See his *Eccles. Antiquities of Down and Connor*, pp. 11, and 187 sq.

<sup>n</sup> *Legentem.*—The text has *legente*, but *legentem* seems necessary for the sense.

senem Coelanum Noendrumensem abbatem, et ut corporis illius ac animæ curam haberet diligenter commendavit. At ille faciem juvenis intuens statim dixit, Iste meus nunquam erit discipulus, vere enim in celo et in terris honore et merito longe me precellit. Nam episcopus erit sapientiâ clarus, et religione ac sanctitate conspicuus. Hoc audito Finanus prophetico spiritu tactus ait, Nec mora videbitis huc venire quem sequar, et sub quo erudiar, qui mihi in omnibus necessitatibus succurrat. Et ecce naves quibus sanctissimus pontifex nomine Nennio cum suis inerat de Britannia venientes portum insulæ<sup>a</sup> coram monasterio tenuerunt. Quibus cum gaudio et honore susceptis, prefati patres<sup>b</sup> juvenem Finanum venerabili episcopo cum omni diligentia commendarunt. Cum eodem repatriante<sup>c</sup> navigavit, et in ejus sede quæ Magnum vocabatur Monasterium regulas et institutiones monasticæ vitæ aliquot annis, probus Monachus didicit, atque in sanctarum Scripturarum paginis non parum proficiens insudavit, et per invocationem nominis Christi multa miracula fecit.<sup>d</sup>

It can scarcely be doubted that the Colman here spoken of as the first tutor or instructor of St. Finnian, was Colman, the founder and first Bishop of the See of Dromore, although Ussher (who is followed by Ware and Harris) assigns to that prelate a date that would be inconsistent with this supposition, and consequently distinguishes between Colman the tutor of St. Finnian, whose "floruit" he places at A. D. 500, and Colman of Dromore, whose *birth* he assigns to the year 516. This mistake arose from confounding this Colman with St. Colman-ela, as Dr. Lanigan<sup>e</sup> has clearly shown. But the means of correcting it are at hand. Two facts recorded in the Life of St. Colman of Dromore are sufficient for this purpose. The first is, that prior to the foundation of his church of Dromore, he consulted St. Mac Nissi as to the exact site for the foundation, who pointed out to him the district of Magh Cobha<sup>f</sup>. Now Mac Nissi died in 514<sup>g</sup>, and therefore St. Colman must have flourished before that

<sup>a</sup> *Insulæ*.—i. e. of the island of Nendrum.

<sup>b</sup> *Prefati patres*.—viz. Colman and Coelan.

<sup>c</sup> *Repatriante*.—The text has *repatriantem*, which seems to be a mistake.

<sup>d</sup> *Dr. Lanigan*.—Ecel. Hist. vol. i. p. 431 sq. Ussher derives the date of 516 from the statement of the biographers of St. Patrick, that St. Colman-ela was predicted by the Apostle of Ireland sixty years before his birth. This prophecy having been said to be delivered during St. Patrick's visit to Dalaradia in 456 (see Index Chron. in that year), gives 516 for the birth of St. Colman. But *sixty* years (as Dr. Reeves has remarked, *Eccles. Ant.* p. 304, n.) was a favourite term for prophecies of this nature; and no chronological inference can be derived from such figures.

<sup>e</sup> *Magh Cobha*.—See the Life of St. Colman printed by the Bollandists, 7th June, from a Sala-

manca MS. now at Brussels. The passage referred to is this: "Deinde sæpe venerabilem Maenyseum Conderensem episcopum petiit [Colmannus], qui hospitum præsciens adventum, eis necessaria jussit præparari. Ille itaque illuc perveniens, in omni hilaritate susceptus est, ibique paucis diebus mansit. Dehinc inito consilio venerabilem senem, ubi locum serviendi Deo fundare deberet, consulit. Qui respondit: Voluntas Dei est, ut in finibus *Campi Coba* tibi construas monasterium."—Cap. i. sect. 3 (*Acta SS.* tom. ii. Junii, p. 26). The biographer then states that St. Colman, in accordance with this oracle, immediately repaired to the valley pointed out, and there built his church (sedem sibi constituit), on the banks of the river *Locha* [now the *Lagan*].

<sup>f</sup> *In 514*.—See what has been said on this date, in the Introd. to the Book of Obits of Christ Church, p. 73.



year. Ussher is therefore correct in fixing the foundation of the See of Dromore at the year 500.

But secondly, we read also that Colman, when a boy, was sent by his parents, for education<sup>u</sup>, to St. Caylan, Abbot of Nendrum, the very same to whom he afterwards transferred his own pupil. St. Finnian, under the circumstances narrated in the Life of the latter. But, as we shall see presently, Caylan, or Coelan, died in 497, according to Tighernach, so that Colman must have been under his instruction some years before that date, seeing that, in the meantime, he had lived to become a teacher of youth himself, and to consult his own venerable master in his difficulties respecting his pupil Finnian. We must therefore fix Colman's birth<sup>v</sup> at 455, or thereabouts, a century before that of St. Colman-cla.

Coelanus, or Caylanus, the Abbot of Noendrum, was in advanced years, "venerabilis senex," when Colman sent St. Finnian to him for further instruction. He is better known by the name of Mochaoi<sup>x</sup>, under which form he still lives in the modern name of his island Noendrum, now mup Mochaoi, or Mahee's Island. Ussher<sup>y</sup> states, on the authority of the writer of his Acts, that Caolan was afterwards promoted from the Abbey of Nendrum to the See of Down,—“ex abbate Dunensem postea in Ultonia factum fuisse episcopum significat;” and hence Ware has made him the first Bishop of that See. We have no access now to the Acts or Life to which Ussher refers, and therefore are unable to determine whether this was stated by the author as a fact, and not rather as a probable conjecture, which Ussher's use of the word *significat* would seem to imply. However, be this as it may, the statement appears to be incorrect, and is not confirmed by other authorities<sup>z</sup>.

The Annals of Ulster have recorded the death of Mochaoi at the year 496 (in which they are followed by the Four Masters), but they also give 498 from another authority. The true date is 497, as in the Annals of Tighernach. It appears that Coelan or Mochai was originally a swineherd, and was met by St. Patrick in one of his apostolical journeys, by whom he was converted to Christianity and baptized<sup>a</sup>;

<sup>u</sup> For education.—“Posthæc ad St. Caylanum Nendrumensem abbatem, ut apud eum literis addiceret, a parentibus traditus est, qui eum diligenter instruxit, et bonis moribus informavit.”—*Vit. S. Colmani*, c. i. sect. 3.

<sup>v</sup> Colman's birth.—Colman of Dromore is generally called by the Irish authorities Mocholmog, i. e. Mo Colm-og [or Colman-og], i. e. my-little-Colman, for so the ancient Irish expressed their devotion to the saints, prefixing the pronoun *mo*, *my*, and adding *og*, little. See above, p. 86, note <sup>u</sup>.

<sup>x</sup> Mochaoi.—See also Reeves' *Ecel. Hist. of Down and Connor*, p. 143-4. The Scholiast on Marianus Gorman, at June 23, tells us that St. Mochaoi of Nendrum had been originally called Caolan, Cao-lan a annm pén. See also the gloss on the Felire of Aengus, and Martyr. Dungal., *cod. die*.

<sup>y</sup> Ussher.—Brit. Ecel. Antiq. c. 17 (*Works*, vol. vi. 529).

<sup>z</sup> Authorities.—See Lanigan, *Ecel. Hist.* i. p. 422, and Reeves, *loc. cit.*

<sup>a</sup> Baptized.—*Vit. Tripart. part i., c. 53.*

and as this first interview was before St. Patrick's appearance at Tara, we cannot assign to it a later date than 433<sup>b</sup>. Coelan was then "adolescens," that is, we may assume, about fourteen or fifteen years of age; he must, therefore, have been born about 420, and consequently was 76 or 78 when he died.

These dates are quite consistent with the mention which occurs of him in the Lives of SS. Colman and Finnian, and are in all probability very close to the truth.

From this it appears that the year 497 or 498 is, probably, the latest date that can be assigned to St. Finnian's going into Britain to complete his ecclesiastical or monastic education under Bishop Nennio of the Great Monastery.

This Nennio is identified by Colgan (1 Mart. p. 437), with St. Moinennus or Monennius (Moeinnend, Maoinenn, or Moenu, in the Irish Annals), Bishop of Clonfert, who, he tells us, "claruit in Hibernia circa annum 560," and died 570. But if this date be correct, it is not possible, or at least it is highly improbable, that this can be the same Nennio, who became the tutor of St. Finnian in or before 498. For he was then a Bishop, and assuming that he was not less than thirty years of age in 498, he must have been upwards of a century old when he died in 570.

Colgan has also identified him with the Nennio, Monennus, or Mancennus (Mo-Minn-nbh), who is said to have been tutor to St. Tighearnach of Clones, Bishop of Clogher, as also to St. Eoghan or Eugenius, Bishop of Ardstraw, and to St. Enna or Endæus of the Aran Islands. But here there is evidently a mistake; for Tighearnach was Bishop of Cluaineoais, and is commonly supposed to have succeeded<sup>c</sup> St. Mac Carthen in the See of Clogher in 506. He died in 544, according to the *Ann. Tighearn.*, not 550, as Ussher has it. Assuming, therefore, that he was thirty years of age when he became a Bishop, he must have been born before 476, and, supposing the tutor Nennio or Monennus to have been twenty years older than his pupil, he must have been (if identical with the Monennus of March 1st) at least 114 years old when he died in 570. This is unlikely.

Again, St. Enna is said to have received the gift of the Aran Isles from Ængus, King of Munster, who died 489; before that time he had been some years at Rome, as his biographer relates, and had founded a monastery<sup>d</sup> in Italy. The exact year of his death is not recorded by our annalists, but he was alive in 529, when St. Ciaran of Clonmacnois visited him in the Aran Isles; and he lived to 540, or later, as Colgan shows, *Append. ad Vit. S. Endei*, c. 5 (p. 714). If so, he must have lived to the age of 90

<sup>b</sup> *Than* 433.—See Reeves, *ibid.* p. 188.

<sup>c</sup> *Succeeded*.—See Ussher, *Index Chron.* (Works, vol. vi. p. 582). We are not to suppose, however, that there was then any regular diocesan succession of bishops in Ireland.

<sup>d</sup> *A Monastery*.—"Monasterium quod Latinum nominatur crexit."—*Vit. S. Endei*, c. 6; ap. Colgan.

*Act. SS.* p. 705, who suggests that we ought to read *Lætium*, not *Latinum*, in consequence of what the author adds: "Et quidem congrue Latinum monasterium illud vocatur, ubi mandatum charitatis in Deum et in proximum illibate observatur." See Colgan. not. 17 in *Vit. S. Fanchæ*, 1 Jan. *Act. SS.* p. 4.

or 100; and consequently his master Nennio (if he was identical with the Nennio who died in 570) must have been of the improbable age of 120 or 130 when he died.

Eoghan or Eugenius of Ardstraw was of a somewhat later date; Ussher gives the year 570<sup>e</sup>, as the period when he "florished" in Ireland; and if this be correct, he can scarcely have had the same tutor as Tigernach and Enna.

From these considerations it follows that we must distinguish between the Moenu or Maoinenn, Bishop of Clonfert, the disciple of St. Brendan<sup>f</sup> (who died, according to the Four Masters, 1 March, 570), and the Nennio, Mo-Ninnidh, or Mancennus, who was the tutor of St. Tigernach and St. Enna. It is, however, very possible that this Nennio may have been the same who is mentioned in the Life of St. Finnian, and with whom Finnian went to Britain to complete his ecclesiastical education; although it is to be observed that the tutor of St. Tigernach is described as having been Abbot of Rosnat in Britain (which place is said to have been also called *Alba*<sup>g</sup>), whilst the tutor of Finnian is styled a Bishop, whose See had the name of *Magnum Monasterium*.

Colgan, in his Notes to the Life of St. Fanchea (Jan. 1), suggests that Rosnat was probably the Vallis Rosinæ<sup>h</sup>, in Wales. But in his notes on St. Moinennus (March 1) he identifies it with the Magnum Monasterium mentioned in the Life of St. Finnian, and makes both to be the Abbey of Bangor in N. Wales; without any reason, except that Rosnat is said to have been also called *Alba*, which agrees with the supposed (but erroneous) signification of Ban-chor, *albus chorus* (the true meaning being *altus chorus*); and because the British writers tell us that Nennius of Bangor was the tutor of St. Finnian.

But this last statement is a manifest mistake, confounding the Nennio mentioned in the Life of St. Finnian with Nennius the compiler of the *Historia Britonum*, who is commonly, although erroneously<sup>i</sup>, said to have been a monk or Abbot of Bangor, but who at all events lived in the middle of the *ninth* century.

<sup>e</sup> *The year 570.*—Colgan (Index Chron. p. 831), gives the year 540 as the "floruit" of Eugenius. But he builds this date on the assumed identity of Moneunius of Rosnat, with the Moinennus of 1 March, who died in 570.

<sup>f</sup> *Disciple of St. Brendan.*—There is a reason to suspect some confusion between the Maincann Moennean, or Moenne of the Irish Calendars, whose memory was celebrated on the Kalends of March, and Moenna or Moena, Latinized by Colgan *Moenus* or *Mainus*, whose festival was the 26th of February. Both are said to have been disciples of St. Brendan at Clonfert, and both were Bishops. The latter is supposed by Colgan, *Act. SS.* p. 413, 414, to be

the same as the S. Mainus who ultimately settled in Britany, at or near Dola, and died there about 590, although in the English Calendar his day was 15th June.

<sup>g</sup> *Alba.*—"Deinde B. puer [S. Tigernachus] libertati restitutus, S. Monenni disciplinis et monitis in Rosnatenſi monasterio, quod alio nomine Alba vocatur, diligenter instructus, &c."—*Vit. S. Tigernachi*, c. 3 (cited by Colgan, *Acta SS.* p. 438).

<sup>h</sup> *Vallis Rosinæ.*—This was the valley in which Menevia or St. David's was erected. See Colgan's note on Life of St. David.—*Acta SS.* p. 430.

<sup>i</sup> *Erroneously.*—See Mr. Herbert's Introd. to the Irish version of Nennius, p. 9.

I am therefore very much disposed to adopt the opinion of Cressy and Lanigan<sup>k</sup>, that Rosnatum was the celebrated *Candida Casa*, or *Whitherne*, in Galloway: white-aern, or white-house, its Saxon appellation, being derived<sup>l</sup>, as Bede tells us, from the church built of white stone by St. Ninian its founder,—the first stone edifice ever seen in that country. The great celebrity of the school or academy<sup>m</sup> which flourished there, which was frequented by a vast number of monks and scholars, sufficiently accounts for the designation of *Magnum Monasterium*. This conclusion is strengthened by several considerations:—

1. The position of *Candida Casa* rendered it very accessible to students from the north of Ireland; and it is remarkable, as Dr. Lanigan has observed, that almost all those who are spoken of as having studied at Rosnat, or Alba, were natives of Ulster. It is known that Galloway derived its name from an ancient colony of Gaedhil, or Irish, who were early settlers in that country.

2. The Scholiast of the Book of Hymns tells us that the school in which Finnian studied under Mugint was at *Futerna*, which is manifestly *Whiterna*, or *Whitern*, the *Wh* being represented by *F*<sup>n</sup>. The *Civitas quæ dicitur Candida*, in the continental Lives of St. Finnian published by Colgan, is only another way of translating the Saxon name, and is evidently identical with *Candida Casa*.

<sup>k</sup> *Cressy and Lanigan*.—See Cressy, *Church History of Brittany* (Book xi. c. 15) p. 240, and Lanigan, *Ecl. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 437. As Lanigan makes no reference to Cressy, it would seem that he had arrived at this opinion independently. Comp. also Mr. Herbert's *Introd. to the Irish Nennius*, p. 5.

*Bede*.—*Hist. Eccl.*, lib. iii. c. 4.

<sup>m</sup> *Academy*.—St. Aelred, in his *Life of Ninian*, c. 10 (published by Pinkerton in his *Vita Antiquæ Sanctorum Scotiæ*), informs us that Ninian, in his own lifetime, had established at *Whiterne* a seminary of learning, where he received the children of the nobles and gentry of the country in great numbers:—"Interea, Beato pontifici plures tam nobiles, quam mediocres, filios suos tradunt sacris literis imbuendos, quos scientia erudiebat, et moribus informabat, &c." It was not unnatural that such an establishment should have obtained the name of *Magnum Monasterium* in comparison with the smaller schools of Coelan, in the island Noendrum, Colman, at Dromore, &c.

<sup>n</sup> *Represented by F*.—This pronunciation of the aspirated W is still common in many parts of Ireland,

where the peasantry still pronounce the word *white* nearly as *fight*; and the author of Capgrave's *Life of St. Finnian* tells us that in Wales his name was pronounced *Winnin*. See above, p. 99. Although the identity of *Futerna* and *Whiterne* is so obvious, yet Colgan suggests (*ib.* p. 637), that *Druim-finn* (i. e. *collis, sive mons candidus*), a church in the county Louth, in Ireland, may be meant. His only reason is that St. Finnian was at *Drum-finn* (see O'Donnell, *Vit. Columbæ*, lib. ii. c. 1), when St. Columcille borrowed from him the book which was the cause of their celebrated dispute. But this conjecture (which Colgan himself dismisses with an "ego indecisum relinquo") needs no confutation. It is only fair, however, to notice here, that Colgan's copy of the Book of Hymns does not appear to have had any mention of *Futerna*, for he quotes the passage thus:—"Mugentium Britannum fuisse magistrum S. Findiani Magbilensis . . . tradit vetus Scholiastes in Librum Hymnorum, in præfatione ad hymnum qui incipit *Parce Domine, parce populo tuo*, &c. dicens:—*Findianus de Maghfile exiit studiorum causa ad Mugentium, et Riachus et Talmachus et alii secum*."



3. There is also much probability in Dr. Lanigan's conjecture that the name of Nennio, which is the same as Nennius, and Ninianus, was given to the Bishop of the Magnum Monasterium, according to the ancient custom of naming the *conharb* or successor after the saint by whom his See was originally founded<sup>a</sup>. And the whole spirit of the story confirms this idea. Colman, finding that Finnian had become his superior, and that a miraculous interposition had prevented his exercising over the saintly boy the authority of a master, sends him to the venerable Coelan, who had been his own instructor. Coelan again acknowledges his inferiority; and it is resolved that no place is worthy of receiving so distinguished a scholar, except the Magnum Monasterium, the great academy, or ecclesiastical university of that age and neighbourhood, the Candida Casa of St. Ninian. And when the Ninian of the day, the successor of St. Ninian in the See of Whiterne, was miraculously directed to the very gate of St. Coelan's monastery, no further doubt remained as to the destination of St. Finnian; and he was at once placed under the care of the British Bishop.

4. And further, it is by no means impossible that Mugint, the name of St. Finnian's teacher at Whiterne, as given in the Book of Hymns, may be one of the forms of Nennio, Mo-nennius, Moinennus, Mangenus, Mancenus, or Mancennus, the appellations given him in other authorities. For in Irish names the doubled n, especially when at the end of a word, is often represented by *nd* and *nt*; so that Mancenn would, without much difficulty, give Mancend, or Mangent; and if we suppose the syllable *Man* to become *Ma* or *Mo* (for *n* before a consonant is often dropped<sup>b</sup> in Celtic pronunciation), we arrive at the very name given by the Scholiast in the Book of Hymns, *Mogent*, or *Mugint*.

There is, however, a Maugantius, Meugant, or Meigant, celebrated in British history, and in the hagiology of Wales, who, from the similarity of name and probable coincidence of date, may, with some plausibility, be suspected to have been the same who was the tutor of St. Finnian at Candida Casa.

This Maugantius, as he is called by Geoffrey or Galfridus of Monmouth, appears to have been one, and perhaps the chief of Vortigern's twelve Druids, Bards, or Magi<sup>c</sup> (for so they are called, although professing Christianity). To him especially the King applied to have his doubts cleared up as to the possibility of the story told by Merlin's mother of the supernatural nature of her son's birth<sup>d</sup>. On this was probably founded

<sup>a</sup> *Founded*.—See above, p. 83, n. 1.

<sup>b</sup> *Often dropped*.—Thus, the Latin *centum* becomes in Irish, *ced*; *argentum*, *airgit*; *viginti*, *fichit*, &c.

<sup>c</sup> *Magi*.—See Galf. Monumetensis, *Hist. Regum Brit.*, lib. vi. c. 17. "Vocatis denique magis suis, consuluit illos," &c. And compare *Irish Version of*

*Nennius*, p. 91. Of the Christianity of the Britons under Vortigern, Galfridus says (*ib.* c. 13): "Corrupta namque fuerat Christianitas eorum, tum propter paganos quos rex in societatem eorum posuerat, tum propter Pelagianam heresim," &c.

<sup>d</sup> *Birth*.—"Admirans itaque rex, jussit Maugantium ad se revocari, ut sibi manifestaret, si id quod

the account which Leland\* has given us of Maugantius, which has been copied by Bale, Pitseus, Tanner, &c. Maugantius was therefore a contemporary of Vortigern, which agrees, as far as chronology is concerned, with the Welsh genealogies, where we read that Meigant (which is perhaps the correct orthography of the name) was the son of Gwyndaf Hên† (or the Old), who was the son of Emyr Llydaw, or Ambrose of Leta-via, i. e. Armorica, who is said to have been the son of a sister of the celebrated St. German‡, by Aldor, son of Cynfor.

By the mother's side Meigant was descended from the kings or chieftains of Morganwg (Glamorganshire); for his father married Gwenonwy, daughter of Meirig, King of Morganwg, who succeeded his father Tewdrig\* in that sovereignty A. D. 446.

mulier dixerat fieri potuisset. Adductus autem Maugantius, auditis omnibus ex ordine, dixit ad Vortiginum: In libris philosophorum nostrorum, et in plurimis historiis reperi," &c.—*Hist. Reg. Brit.*, *ibid.* c. 18. Of these books Galfridus mentions particularly the works of Apuleius; and from this, without any other evidence, Bale sets him down as having written *De magia naturali*, lib. 1, and *Apuleii expositio*.—*De Script.* i. 47; and in this he is followed by Pitseus, p. 89.

\* Leland.—This account is as follows (*De Scriptoris*, c. 28, p. 49):—"Maugantius se neglectum, spretum et contemptum putaret, nisi ad numerum eruditorum accederet. Certe quantum per me stabit, officii meminero. Ad rem igitur. Magantius penitiori rerum naturalium cognitioni studebat; sed tanta cum felicitate et successu, ut præter communem philosophorum sortem visus sit sapere: quo calculo vel ipsis Britanniae principibus quam charissimus erat, et præcipue Vortigerno regi; cui, cum propter multam in rebus humanis experientiam, tum etiam propter singulare in magia, naturali quidem illa, iudicium, a secretis consiliis fuit. Unde et libenter crediderim, illum regi suo persuasisse ut Merlinum, inter magos, id est, sapientes semideum accersiret. Nec me interim fugit, multas circumferri et nugas et vanitates, quæ tantorum virorum elevent auctoritatem. Sed placeant talia bardis Cambriæ indigenis. Ego autem mea scribo tersis auribus, et exquisitis nostri sæculi iudiciis: non quod legerim aliquid a Magantio scriptum (qui enim facile potui, post tam insignem eladem a Britannia acceptam,

aliquid ab eo editum, si modo quicquid edidit, invenire?), sed ut fidem lectori faciam, insulam non caruisse nostram magnæ famæ philosophis, ne tum quidem, cum Vortiginus et Saxones de imperio contenderent."

† *Gwyndaf Hên*.—Meigant was President or Chaplain of the College of St. Iltyd, at Llantwyt-major, and afterwards removed to that founded by Dubricius at Caerleon.—Rees, *Welsh Saints*, p. 219. *Iolo MSS.* (printed by the Welsh MSS. Society), p. 132. In the *Auchau Saint Inys Prydain* (*Iolo MSS.*, p. 100), St. Cyndaf, or Gwyndaf, the father of Meigant Hên (see p. 102, No. 32, *ibid.*), is said to have been "gwr o' Israel,"—an Israelite. What this may mean is difficult to say: can it really mean that Cyndaf was a Jew by birth? It is remarkable, however, that Meigant is here called *Hên*, or the senior, implying that there was a junior Meigant, who was possibly the author of the poems printed in the *Myryrian Archaeology*, vol. i. 59, which the editors date A. D. 600 to 650.

‡ *St. German*.—See the Genealogy, Tab. ix., in Rees' *Welsh Saints*, p. 123, and Tab. xiii. p. 165. The date of St. German's death seems very well ascertained to be A. D. 448. See Ussher, *Index Chron.* (*Works*, vol. vi. p. 571, Elrington's edit.), and *Iolo MSS.*, p. 533.

§ *Tewdrig*.—Tewdrig flourished, according to Professor Rees, between A. D. 440 and 470: and in or about 446 is said to have resigned the sovereignty of Glamorgan to his son, Meirig, after which he retired to lead a religious life in the solitude of

It is said that Meigant was one of the original students or disciples of St. Illtyd, or Iltutus, at his College of Llantwy-t-major\*, in Glamorganshire, and that he was afterwards transferred to Caerleon, to the academy founded by Dubricius in that city. He retired, in his old age, to Inys Enlli, or Bardsey Island, where he died and lies buried†.

Here it is to be observed that the Welsh records make no mention of Meigant having ever been at Candida Casa, and scarcely leave room for his being there, especially if he met with his death, or the wound which caused his death, there, as the Legend in the Book of Hymns, and in the Lives of St. Fridianus, has it. We can only reconcile the two accounts by supposing that his connexion with the Colleges of Lantwy-t-major and Caerleon took place in the earlier part of his life; that his wound was not immediately mortal, and that he had time to retire to Bardsey to complete his repentance, and die in monastic retirement‡. On this hypothesis his residence at Whiterne must have been subsequent to the year 492, and probably from 500 to 520: a date which would square pretty well with the history of St. Finnian, and of the other Irish saints who are said to have been the pupils of Nennio or Monennius.

On the whole, however, I am disposed to think that the Welsh saint, or Druid, was never at Whiterne; and that the Mugint, who is mentioned in the Scholiast's legend as the head of the school or academy there in the days of St. Finnian, was the same, under a different name (or rather a different form of the name), as the Nennius, Monennius, or Mancennus, who is spoken of in the authorities already referred to,—that name signifying that he was the *comharb* or successor of Nennio, or Ninian, in the Magnum Monasterium of Whiterne.

## II. *St. Rioc* or *Righoc*.

St. Finnian, when he placed himself under the instruction of Mugint at Whiterne, is said by the Scholiast to have been accompanied by Rioc and Talmach. We must therefore next inquire into the history of these personages.

Tintern, Monmouthshire. He was afterwards, however, induced to head his country's troops against the Saxons, and fell in battle about A. D. 470.—*Rees*, p. 184. *Iolo MSS.*, p. 353.

\* *Llantwy-t-major*.—Some accounts place the foundation of this college at A. D. 450, which is very improbable, if Illtyd was its first principal, as all the authorities state. Others make it 520, which seems a mistake on the other side. As Dubricius, Bp. of Llandaff, its reputed founder, was translated

to Caerleon in 490, or 492, it seems probable that the College of Llantwy-t was founded before, and that of Caerleon after that year.—*Rees' Welsh Saints*, pp. 178–9. Dubricius died in 522.—*Liber Llandavensis*, p. 633.

† *Buried*.—*Iolo MSS.*, p. 132.

‡ *Retirement*.—He is supposed to have been the founder of the churches of Llanfeugan [i. e. Church of Mengan], Brecknockshire; and there are also chapels consecrated to his memory, or under his in-

St. Rioc, or Righoce [i. e. *Regulus*, the diminutive of Righ, *rex*] is said, on the authority of Aengus the Culdee<sup>2</sup>, to have been a son of St. Patrick's sister Darcera, by a Briton, or Welshman, named Conis. He was born in Wales, and afterwards removed to Ireland, where he became, ultimately, abbot of Inisbofinn, an island in Lough Ribh, in the Shannon, the seat of a celebrated monastery.

These are the facts of his life, of which (with the exception of his being literally St. Patrick's nephew) there appears to be no reasonable doubt; but when we come to fix his age, and to date the events in question, we are met by considerable difficulties.

The later Lives of St. Patrick tell us that Rioc arrived in Ireland during his uncle's lifetime, and accompanied him in his apostolic journeys as a deacon and keeper of his sacred books, being at that time a very young man, and remarkable for the natural grace and beauty<sup>3</sup> of his person. This circumstance tallies with the story told by our Scholiast of the violent affection which the Pictish princess Drusticc conceived for Rioc.

But if we are right in fixing the year 500 as the earliest probable date of St. Finnian's residence at Whiterne, Rioc could scarcely have been the companion of St. Patrick, even as a deacon, and in his earliest youth; for St. Patrick's death is fixed by Colgan<sup>4</sup>, after Ussher, and the best Irish authorities, at the year 493, the latest date<sup>5</sup> to which it can be assigned, even allowing him to have lived to the age of 120. It is clear, therefore, that if Rioc had been St. Patrick's deacon before 493, he could not have been a student at Whiterne in 500; or at least he must then have been nearly forty years of age.

This difficulty is increased if we receive the assertion of Colgan<sup>4</sup>, that Rioc had laboured *for many years* with St. Patrick, and had been by him consecrated a Bishop.

vocation, viz. St. Moughan's, subject to Llangattwg Feibion Afel, Monmouthshire: and Capel Meugan, formerly subject to Llandegfan, Anglesey. —Rees, *Welsh Saints*, p. 269.

<sup>2</sup> *Aengus the Culdee*.—*De Matribus Sanctorum*, quoted by Colgan, not. 26 *ad Vit. S. Melis.* (6 Febr.) *Actt. SS.* p. 263. See the original, *infra*, p. 111.

<sup>3</sup> *Beauty*.—Jocelin tells a story of an Irish chieftain, Eoghan, son of Niall the Great (see *Vit. Tripart.*, lib. ii. c. 114), who had become a convert to Christianity, but was so frightfully deformed, that he besought St. Patrick to intercede with the Almighty that his outward form might be changed into a less repulsive shape. St. Patrick, yielding to his request, asked him to point out some one whom

he would wish to resemble. Eoghan at once named the deacon Rioc, who was at that time—"speciosus forma præ filiis hominum in finibus illis degentium." —*Vit. S. Patricii*, c. 84, ap. Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.*, p. 84. The same story is told in nearly the same words by the author of the *Tripartite Life*, lib. ii. c. 114 sq., and more concisely in the fourth life, c. 71.—*Colg.*, *ib.* p. 44.

<sup>4</sup> *Colgan*.—*Trias. Th.*, p. 234. *Append. 5ta ad Vitam S. Patr.*, cap. 7.

<sup>5</sup> *The latest date*.—Dr. Lanigan contends for the year 465 as the year of St. Patrick's death.—*Eccl. Hist.*, vol. i. p. 363. This would strengthen my argument; but it is not necessary for our present purpose to go into this question.

<sup>6</sup> *Colgan*.—"Cum vero multis jam annis in



For if he was a Bishop before St. Patrick's death, that is, before 493, he must have been then at least thirty years old, and therefore must have been upwards of 60 when he went to Whiterne in 520.

The same author also asserts, on the authority of Jocelin, that Rioc came to Ireland with his brothers, Bishops Mel and Mune, in the year 454; and if we suppose him to have been then ten years old (which is the least that can be assumed), he would be 78 in 520, a period of life in which it would scarcely have been possible for him to have involuntarily engaged the affections of the susceptible Drusticc, however great his personal attractions may have been in early life.

For the first of these statements, that Rioc laboured "*many years*" with St. Patrick, Colgan does not appear to have any authority. But it will follow necessarily, if we suppose him to have come to Ireland in 454, and to have been then at once received into the company of St. Patrick's immediate attendants.

For the second, that Rioc was consecrated a Bishop by St. Patrick,—Colgan quotes Jocelin, Aengus the Culdee, the Calendar of Cashel, Marianus Gorman, and the Martyrology of Tamhlacht.

But these authorities merely call him a Bishop without saying by whom he was consecrated. We shall examine them in detail.

1. Jocelin's words (c. 50) are these: "*Darerca vero sororum ultima, mater erat episcoporum sanctorum, Mel, Rioc, et Munis, quorum pater dicebatur Conis*"<sup>f</sup>. He does not make any distinction of age between these brothers, nor does he say that they were all, or any of them, consecrated by St. Patrick. Still he distinctly asserts that they were all Bishops, and that they were all companions to St. Patrick in his apostolical labours: "*Hi similiter in prædicatione, et itinere B. Patricium comitabantur, et in locis diversis Pontificalem dignitatem sortiebantur.*"

We must recollect, however, that this is the language of a writer of the latter end of the twelfth century<sup>g</sup>; and that his testimony in a question of chronology is of no weight in comparison with that of an authority of the seventh or eighth century.

2. St. Aengus, a writer of the ninth century, would be entitled to more respect if we were quite sure that his works, as we now have them, were free from interpola-

opere Evangelii Sancto Patricio collaborasset, tandem, exigentibus meritis, ab eodem est episcopus ordinatus."—*Act. SS.*, p. 267.

<sup>e</sup> *With his brothers.*—Colgan. *Acta SS.* p. 263, not. 4.

<sup>f</sup> *Conis.*—Colgan. *Tr. Thaum.*, p. 76.

<sup>g</sup> *Twelfth century.*—It is remarkable that the author of the Tripartite Life seems carefully to avoid giving the title of Bishop to St. Rioc, although he

states generally that Rioc and his brothers followed St. Patrick to Ireland. His words are:—"Cum enim S. Patricius ex Britannia in Hiberniam trajecisset, S. Munis episcopus illum, suosque germanos fratres S. Melem episcopum, et S. Riocum de *Inisbofinne*, secutus est."—*Vit. Trip.*, part ii. c. 21. This seems to imply that Munis, Mel, and Rioc accompanied St. Patrick to Ireland. The older Lives of St. Patrick make no mention of Rioc whatsoever.

tion. But even as they stand, his statement goes no farther than the general title of Bishop, which he gives to all Darerca's fifteen sons. He does not say that Rioc was consecrated by St. Patrick, or that he was the companion of St. Patrick in his missionary labours: and it is worthy of notice that, although he repeats the title of Bishop before the names of Mel, Melchu, and Munis, he does not give that title *speci-ally* to Rioc. His words are these:—

Ḑarerca rúp Ḑarerc, mačar coic n-ep-  
poc nbeč, 7 ḑa oč, .i. erpoc Macl, 7 erpoc  
Melcha, erpoc Munir, Ričoc npe bo rinde,  
Cpumane, Mičnu, Močenoc, Loman Ača  
Čpum, Luran Duanaire, 7 Loarnd o Čill  
Chunnu a n-čir, Čaran, Čarantoc, Čppoc  
Colum, Čpenand Fine, Čppoc mac Cailli,  
Črocán, Črocab. Eche, 7 Lalloč o Senlor  
iar mbačnu, na bi Cailli.

Darerca sister of Patric, was the mother of fifteen Bishops, and of two Virgins, viz. Bishop Macl, Bishop Melchu, Bishop Munis, Rigoc [Rioc] of Inis-bofinne, Crumaine<sup>h</sup>, Michnu, Mogenoc, Loman of Ath Trim, Luran-Duanairé<sup>i</sup>, and Loarnn, both of Cill Chunnu, Ciaran, Carantoc, Bishop Colum, Brennan Fine, Bishop Mac Cailli, Brocan, Brocaid. Eche and Lalloc of Senlos behind Badgna [i. e. west of Slieve Badgna] were the two nuns<sup>k</sup>.

It is manifest that this passage contains nothing in support of the assertion that Rioc was consecrated a Bishop by St. Patrick, or that he accompanied his uncle in his apostolic journeys; moreover, it assigns to Darerca sons, who (as we learn from other authorities) were not her sons, and therefore it is quite possible that there may be error also in the statement that she was the mother (in the literal sense) of St. Rioc of Inisbofinne.

That Rioc's name may have been introduced into this passage by the interpolator is the more probable, because, in the Felire or Metrical Martyrology of Aengus, Rioc's name does not occur. From this it seems to follow, that in the age of Aengus (the beginning of the ninth century), he was not known, or at least not recognised as a saint in the Irish Calendar. Had it been otherwise, and had Rioc been at that time regarded as a nephew and companion of St. Patrick, it is scarcely to be supposed that

<sup>h</sup> *Crumaine*.—Colgan reads, "Crumaine of Lecan."

<sup>i</sup> *Luran Duanaire*.—Colgan reads, "Lurach-Decanaire of Doire Lurain, and Loarn of Killchunnu."

<sup>k</sup> *Two nuns*.—*De Matribus Sanctorum* (in the Book of Lecan). That this passage is interpolated is plain from the fact, that although it begins by asserting Darerca to have been the mother of fifteen Bishops, sixteen are mentioned, if not eighteen; for Colgan reduces them to sixteen by making Luran and Duanaire (or, as he reads, "Lurach-Decanaire") one, and also by joining in the same way Mac Cailli and

Brocan, or as he has it, "Mochalli-Brocan." Jocelin, however (c. 50) tells us that Mogenoc, Loman, Brocan, and Brocaid, were the sons of *Tigris*, not of Darerca, as Colgan himself confesses (*Acta SS.* p. 263), a statement which is confirmed by other authorities, especially the *Tripartite Life*, part ii. c. 2. And it is worthy of note that these latter authorities make Brocan a distinct personage from Mac Cailli. All this is further evidence of interpolation in the existing MSS. of the works of Aengus, and shows how little weight should be given to such statements, in comparison with so ancient a MS. as the *Liber Hymnorum*.

his name could have been omitted in such a work as the *Felire*. This omission must therefore throw very great doubt, not only on the statement of his having lived with St. Patrick, but also on his being the son of Darerca. It is difficult to imagine that these facts, if true, could have been unknown to the Irish Church in the ninth century.

3. With respect to the Martyrology of Tamhlacht, and that of Marianus Gorman, it is remarkable that although both have the name of St. Rioc, under the form Morioc, or *my* Rioc (the usual title of respect or devotion given to the saints in Ireland), yet neither of them say anything of his being a Bishop, or of his relationship to St. Patrick.

Marianus Gorman has these words only, at the 1st of August:—

Morioc for pínb-nem  
Morioc above the starry heavens.

Upon which there is in the Brussels MS. the following interlineary gloss:—

Eppcop mri meic ualaing  
Bishop of Inis meic Ualaing

where it will be observed, that the title of Bishop is given him by the scholiast or annotator, and not by the original author of the Martyrology.

The Martyrology of Tamhlacht has his name on the same day (1st Aug.) in these words:—

Morioc mri Lugein  
Morioc of Inis Lugein<sup>m</sup>.

And here again there is no mention either of his relationship to St. Patrick, or of his having been a Bishop, much less of his having been consecrated by St. Patrick. It is also worth noting, that in these authorities, although he is called a Bishop, nothing is said of his having been the son of Darerca.

*Son of Darerca.*—In another work attributed to Aengus, and extant in MS. in the Book of Lecan, "the seven sons of Restitutus the Lombard" are enumerated in two different places, a circumstance which gives rise to the suspicion that this also is an interpolation. These are "Sechnall, bishop; Nechtain, Bp.; Dabonna, priest; Mogornan, priest; Darigoc, Bp. [i. e. St. Rioc, who is called *Darioc*, in the second copy]; Ausaille [Auxilinus] Bp.; and Lugna [Lugnaid] Bp."—*De Sanctorum Geneal.* Here it will be observed that Rioc is said to be the son of Restitutus the Lombard, not of Conis the Briton, and there is no mention of Mel or Munis, the elder brothers of Rioc, according to other autho-

rities; and yet St. Sechnall, who died in 447, at the age of 73, is asserted to be the son of Darerca by the same father as Rioc, although Rioc was but a boy when Mel and Munis, the sons of Darerca by another husband, were Bishops. How is it possible to treat these statements as history?

<sup>m</sup> *Inis Lugein.*—It appears from this that the island known by the name of Inis bo-finn, in Loch Ribh, was also called *Inis Lugein*, or Island of Lugen, and *Inis meic Ualaing*, i. e. island of the son of Ualaing, from which we may infer that Lugen was the son of Ualaing, but nothing more seems to be known of these personages.—See Colgan. *Acta SS.*, p. 263, n. 11.

All these circumstances throw great suspicion on the statements in question; and as it is on these mainly that Colgan builds in assigning so early a date as 454 to Rioc's arrival in Ireland, it is important to remark, that unless they were more fully established, they cannot for a moment be allowed to weigh against the authority of so early a MS. as the *Liber Hymnorum*.

4. Let us inquire then more particularly how Colgan has arrived at this date.

The Life of St. Brigid, which Colgan and Ussher attribute to St. Ultan, tells us that during her mother's pregnancy two holy Bishops<sup>n</sup>, Mel and Melchu, arrived from Britain, and having been hospitably received at the house of her father Dubhtach, predicted the future sanctity and fame of the unborn infant.

Here there is no mention of Rioc, or of any other companion of these Bishops; and the same story, in nearly the same words, and with the same silence as to any companion or attendant on the Bishops, is told by Animosus<sup>o</sup> in his Life of St. Brigid, who adds, however, that Mel and Melchu were *disciples* (he does not say *nephews*) of St. Patrick: "*ipsi erant discipuli sancti Patricii Archiepiscopi, qui tunc prædicabat verbum Dei in Hibernia.*"

But although these Lives say nothing of Rioc, the defect is supplied by Jocelin<sup>p</sup>, who tells us (c. 102) that Mel was accompanied by *his brothers* Munis and Rioc, when he came from Britain into Ireland: and from this Colgan infers, that the date of his visit to the house of St. Brigid's parents must also be regarded as the date of St. Rioc's arrival in Ireland.

But the year 453 or 454 has been fixed upon by Ussher and Colgan<sup>q</sup> as the most probable date of St. Brigid's birth, allowing her to have lived 70 years, and to have died, according to the testimony of the Annals of Ulster, in 523 or 524.

From these premises it will follow that Rioc came to Ireland with his brothers Mel, Munis, and Melchu, in the year 453 or 454; and this is the reasoning upon which Colgan determines the date of that event.

The reader, however, will observe that the whole validity of this conclusion depends on the truth of Jocelin's assertion (an assertion not found in any earlier writer), that Rioc was the companion of St. Mel when he arrived in Ireland. Moreover, it should be observed that Jocelin, in the very same passage in which he makes this

<sup>n</sup> *Bishops*.—"In illis autem diebus, Deo instigante, duo sancti episcopi ex Britannia venientes intraverunt in domum Dubtachi, quorum alter vocabatur Mel, et alter Melchu," &c.—*Vit.* 3<sup>ti</sup> S. *Brig.*, c. 3. *Tr. Thaum.*, p. 527.

<sup>o</sup> *Animosus*.—*Vit.* 4<sup>ta</sup> ap. Colgan. c. 3, *ib.* p. 546. And see the fifth Life (p. 567) to which the same remark applies.

<sup>p</sup> *Jocelin*.—*Vit.* 6<sup>ta</sup> S. *Patr.*, ap. Colgan. *ib.* p. 88. "Magni Vir meriti Mel supra memoratus, qui cum fratribus suis viris sanctissimis, Munio et Riocho, de Britannia in Hiberniam advenit, ab ipso S. Patricio in Pontificalen gradum promotus, ipsi in prædicatione coadjutor extitit."

<sup>q</sup> *Colgan*.—See Ussher, *Ind. Chron.*, in anno 453. Colgan. *Append. ad Vit. S. Brigid.* c. 8 and 9.



assertion, tells us that St. Mel was consecrated a Bishop by St. Patrick; so that he must have been in Ireland before, or else we must allow a sufficient time for his consecration between his arrival in Ireland and his visit to the house of Dubhtach; unless, indeed, we suppose him to have been consecrated by St. Patrick in Wales, which can scarcely have been intended.

All this looks so like a modern embellishment of the story (especially when we observe that Rioc and Munis are mentioned incidentally in a sort of parenthesis), that it seems unsafe to build so much upon it; and the chronology to which it leads is inconsistent with facts recorded in authorities of higher antiquity and of much greater weight.

For it is evident that if Rioc came to Ireland in 454, he could not have been a student in the Academy of Whiterne in 520. So that Jocelin's statement is at variance with the narrative of the ancient Scholiast of the Book of Hymns, who lived, most probably, in the ninth or tenth century, and copied still older traditions. It is impossible to hesitate a moment when we are compelled to choose between historical facts stated by such an authority, and the *obiter dictum* of a writer like Jocelin, who flourished at the close of the twelfth century, and was not even a native of Ireland.

Again, there is a passage in the Life of St. Aedh Mac Bric, Bishop of Killare, in Meath, which is likewise inconsistent with the early date which Jocelin's story would assign to St. Rioc's arrival in Ireland.

This prelate died in 588, as we learn from the Four Masters, and other authorities, and as, indeed, Colgan himself admits. The following account of him is given in the Martyrology of Donegal at the 10th of November:—

Goð mac bñice eppcob o chull áip i Míðe,  
 7 o Shliabh Liace i tír bóghaine i cceenél  
 Conaill. Do fhuóct Fiachað mac Neill naoi  
 gíallairí dó. Goir Cnipe an t-an po pasó a  
 rpirat do éum nimhe 588.

Aedh Mac Bric, Bishop of Killare in Meath, and  
 of Sliabh Liag in Tir Boghaine in Cinel Conaill.  
 He was of the race of Fiach, son of Niall of the nine  
 hostages. The year of Christ when he resigned his  
 spirit to heaven was 588.

Colgan, however, has published his Life from a Kilkenny MS. at the 28th of February. It is anonymous, but as Colgan has remarked<sup>1</sup>, was evidently written before the year 1000, not only from its rude style, but also because the writer speaks of monasteries as existing in Ireland in his time, which certainly did not exist since A. D. 1000.

This writer tells us that St. Aedh in the course of his journeyings paid a visit<sup>2</sup> to

<sup>1</sup> Killare.—A parish near the hill of Uisneach, barony of Rathconrath, county Westmeath.

<sup>2</sup> Sliabh Liag.—Now Slieveleague, barony of Banagh, county of Donegal, where the ruins of the ancient chapel of St. Aedh are still to be seen.—

O'Donovan, *Note to the Four Masters*, at A. D. 588.

<sup>1</sup> *Has remarked*.—See his note 1, to this Life, *Acta SS.* p. 412.

<sup>2</sup> *A visit*.—His words are, cap. 35, "Venit S. Aedus Episcopus ad insulam Bofindo id est vacca

St. Rioc, in his monastery of Inis-bo-finne in Loch Ribh, who hospitably entertained him there. And the mention of several other historical personages as being the contemporaries of St. Aedh clearly shows that this visit must be dated after the middle of the sixth century. Thus we read (cap. 3) that St. Aedh, whilst still a boy, wandered into a remote and desert Island, where he found SS. Brendan of Birr and Cannech of Achadh-bo sitting in a cell, and studying the Gospels together : and that St. Brendan seeing the boy coming, rose up to meet him with the greatest respect and joy, predicting his future eminence. Now, St. Brendan died A. D. 571 (see Ussher, *Index Chron.*), and St. Cannech<sup>v</sup>, who was born A. D. 515, died 598. This would bring St. Aedh's visit to Inis-bo-finne much later than 530, the year to which Colgan refers it; for in 530 St. Cannech was but 15 years old (if the dates above given are correct), and, therefore, according to the story just quoted, St. Aedh must have been much younger; whereas he was a Bishop when he paid his visit to St. Rioc.

We must add, therefore, some fifteen or twenty years to Colgan's date in order to avoid this difficulty, which will give 545 or 550, as being, with more probability, the year in which Aedh and Rioc met at Inis-bo-finne.

This is confirmed by the mention of Mughain, queen of Diarmait Mac Fergusa Cearbheoil (King of Ireland A. D. 544-565), who was healed by Aedh's prayer, (cap. 19). Also by the mention of the celebrated prophet St. Beg mac De (cap. 33) who died 557, and of Aedh's visit to St. Lasrian of Daimhinis, or Devenish Island, who died, according to the Annals of Ulster, in 570.

All these considerations prove, beyond a question, that Rioc could not have come to Ireland, or been the companion of St. Patrick in 454; but it will be seen that the testimony of the ancient Life of St. Aedh coincides with the evidence of the *Liber Hymnorum* in bringing him down to a lower date<sup>x</sup>, which is strongly confirmed by the silence of the ancient Martyrologies.

albæ, quæ est in stagno Righe, et suscepit eum S. Rioc, abbas illius loci honorifice. Monasterium enim clarum in illa insula est, quod ex nomine insulæ nominatur." Here the writer speaks of the monastery as still in being. It was entirely destroyed, however, by the Danes in 1085. See Colgan's note *in loc.*

<sup>v</sup> *St Cannech*.—These are the dates given by the Four Masters, and by Colgan himself.—*Acta SS.* p. 190.

<sup>x</sup> *A lower date*.—In the first ed. of the *Primordia* (4<sup>o</sup> *Dubl.* 1639) Ussher had said of St. Rioc (p. 825): "Postea episcopum factum invenio in parva illa (a Beda descripta) insula, quæ ad occi-

dentalem plagam ab Hibernia procul secreta, sermone Scottico Inis-bo-finde, id est Insula vitulæ albæ nuncupatur;" thus confounding the Inis-bo-finde of Loch Righ, with the island of the same name off the coast of Connemara. This error he corrected in his *Addenda* (p. 1045), but fell into another (which is continued in the edition of *Lond.* 1687, fol.), by intimating that St. Rioc, abbot of Inis-bo-finde was not the same who is said to have been St. Patrick's nephew. He says (p. 1045): "Quin et aliam ejusdem nominis insulam (inter Connaciam et Longfordiæ comitatum positam atque ecclesiasticæ Ardachadensis episcopi jurisdictioni subditam) Sinci fluminis lacus Loch-rie dic-

It follows also that Rioc could scarcely have been the son of Darerca, St. Patrick's sister, if he was a young man of, say 15 or 20 years of age when he accompanied St. Finnian to Candida Casa in 520. For if Darerca was the mother of Mel, who was a Bishop in 454, still more, if she was the mother of St. Sechnall, who died at the age of 75, according to the Annals of Ulster, in 447, she could not, without a miracle, have been the mother of St. Rioc: and we have seen that she is not so called by any authority older than Jocelin, a writer of the twelfth century<sup>7</sup>, for the interpolations of the works of Aengus the Culdee are probably even later than that period.

### III. *Talmach and his son, St. Lonan of Treoit, or Trifod.*

The name of Talmach, but without any particulars of date or place, occurs in the Martyrologies of Tamhlacht, Marianus Gorman, and Donegal, at the 14th of March; and again on the 26th of February in the Martyrologies of Marianus, and Donegal.

In the autograph MS. of this latter work, preserved in the Burgundian Library at Brussels, there is the following note at the 26th of February:—

Talmach. Aveit beða barpe, cap. 10, go tuc Talmach a ceall do Dia 7 do barpe, oir baoruih ap peoil barpe illoé Iree, 7 meam supab é ro an Talmach m. No ipe an Talmach ata 14 Mart. Oir ni paicim do lucte a ceoimma aet iad apion.

Talmach. The Life of Barre, cap. 10, says that Talmach gave his church to God and to Barre; for he was of the school of Barre in Loch Iree; and I think it was this Talmach. Or it was the Talmach who is on the 14 of March. For I do not see any of the same name except these alone.

Colgan, however, has placed Talmach, the disciple of St. Brendan, at the 26th of February, and Talmach, the disciple of St. Barre, at the 14th of March.

The latter of these having been a student of St. Barre's school at Loch-Eirce, must have flourished at the beginning of the seventh century, for Colgan<sup>2</sup> is of opinion

tus nobis exhibet; ejus et *Riochum* quendam, Patricii nepote ætate posteriore, Abbatem extitisse S. *Ædi vitæ scriptor hisce verbis prodidit*" [he then quotes the words already given, note <sup>a</sup>, p. 115, *supra*]. And so the passage stands in the text of the edition of 1687, p. 430; but in the *Addenda* to that edition, p. 509, it is again corrected by omitting the statement that St. Rioc was a Bishop, and also the insinuation that the abbot of Inis-bo-finne was a different and a later Rioc than the reputed nephew of St. Patrick. With this last correction the text has been finally printed in Dr. Elrington's edition of Ussher's Works, vol. vi. p. 382. So that we have thus Ussher's mature judgment,—first, that Rioc, abbot of Inis-bo-finne was not a Bishop: and secondly, that we cannot relieve ourselves of

the difficulties of the story by supposing two of the name, and therefore that Rioc's being the nephew and companion of St. Patrick must be regarded as a fabrication, or at least an error, which originated in more modern times.

<sup>7</sup> *Twelfth century*.—Darerca was not an uncommon name. There was a Darerca (otherwise called Monine), of Cill Skeibhe Cuillin (Slieve Gullion, now Killeavy, county Armagh), who died in 518 (517 in Four Masters), whom even Ussher has confounded with the sister of St. Patrick (*Index Chron.* in anno 518). It is possible, that Rioc's mother may have been called Darerca, but of this we have no evidence.

<sup>2</sup> *Colgan*.—De S. Talmacho, not. 4. *Acta SS.* p. 607.

that St. Barre's school could not have been opened before the year 600. If so, this Talmach could scarcely have been the same who was the companion of St. Rioc in 520 at the Academy of Whiterne.

The other Talmach, however, must have flourished in the first half of the sixth century. For St. Brendan (whose disciple he was, and who died A. D. 576 or 577), founded the Church of Clonfert (according to the Annals of Clonmacnois), in A. D. 558; and before that he had been for some time in an island in Connaught, as his Life tells us, and three years in Britain, where St. Talmach is said to have been his companion: so that we cannot assign a much later date than 550 to this Talmach's connexion with St. Brendan. Therefore, so far as Chronology is concerned, he may very well have been the fellow-student of S. Rioc in 520, and the father of St. Lonan of Trifod.

Still there is no evidence beyond the identity of the name and the possibility of the thing, to prove that he was so. Michael O'Clery, the compiler of the Martyrology of Donegal, in the passage cited above, says expressly, that he was not aware of any others of the name, except the two Talmachs, whose memories are preserved in the Irish Calendar at Feb. 26th and March 14th. Nevertheless, he speaks of Talmach the father of St. Lonan of Trifod, at the 1st of November. Are we, therefore, to infer that he considered this Talmach as identical with one of the former<sup>a</sup>? if so, it must be with the disciple of St. Brendan, as is evident from what has been said. O'Clery's words are as follows:—

‘An Lonan ro Ƨpepob, Ƨalmach ann a  
aƧap, Ƨ ƧurƧric mƧen ƧruirƧ nıƧ Ƨpetam  
ƧuapceıƧt a maƧap, aıaıal an paııııo:—

ƧruirƧ nı an Ƨpaııı mbeı on ƧpaıƧ,  
Ro ƧeacƧ aom mƧın ıomlam.  
ƧurƧric Ƨrı Ƨac Ƨobail Ƨom,  
MaƧap Lonan mıe ƧalmaƧıh.

As to this Lonan of Trifod, Talmach was the name of his father, and Dustric daughter of Trust King of North Britain was his mother—as this poem proves:—

Trust king of the free bay<sup>b</sup> on the strand,  
Had one perfect daughter,  
Dustric, she was for every good deed [renowned],  
The mother of Lonan son of Talmach.

This is clearly the same story which is given by the Scholiast on the Hymn before us. But it does not decide who the Talmach was who was the father of St. Lonan,

<sup>a</sup> *The former*.—His meaning, however, may be that he knew of no other *saints* of the name besides the two of whom he had spoken.

<sup>b</sup> *The free bay*.—“Saoir inbher on traigh.” The free bay on the strand. *Inbher*, pronounced *Inver*, is a bay into which a river runs, or a long, narrow neck of the sea resembling a river. The word enters into the composition of many geographical names

both in Ireland and Scotland. Is *Inbher-on-traigh* the ancient name of any place in Scotland? Or could *Caerrantorigum*, the Roman name for Wigton and Kirkcudbrightshire, be derived from it, quasi *Castrum super litus*, or Caer-inbhir-on-traighe? I know how fallacious such conjectures are, and therefore I would only be understood as making a guess for the consideration of scholars.



or whether he was one of the saints of the same name who were commemorated in the Calendar<sup>c</sup> of the ancient Church of Ireland.

It is a singular fact, but not inconsistent with the primitive simplicity of the rude age to which this legend belongs, that the *daughter* of a Pictish king should have been sent to learn letters at the Academy of St. Mugint, along with students of the other sex. And I cannot but think that the manner in which the scholiast records this fact, without any attempt at apology or explanation, is a strong evidence of the antiquity and authenticity of the traditions from which he derived his narrative.

Drust, Durst, or Drest, was the name of several of the Pictish kings. One of these Drust, son of Erp, is said to have reigned an hundred years: and in the nineteenth year of his reign, we are told St. Patrick arrived in Ireland. This is asserted by the *Chronicon Pictorum*<sup>d</sup>. And assuming it to be true, and that the year 432 is the year of St. Patrick's mission here intended<sup>e</sup>, the reign of Drust came to a close A. D. 513, or thereabouts. But Innes rejects the story of his having reigned 100 years, and dates his death, with much greater probability, A. D. 451.

He was succeeded by Talorc, who reigned four years, and by Nectan, the first Christian king, who died in 480, and was followed by Drust Gormoth<sup>f</sup>. Then comes Galam-arbith, or [-etelick], who reigned fifteen years, according to the Irish text of the Pictish Chronicle, and was succeeded, about A.D. 495 or 500, by two Drusts<sup>g</sup> or Drests, who reigned for a time conjointly, viz. Drest, son of Budros, and Drest, son of Girum.

One or other of these was, therefore, in all probability, the father of Drusticc, who was the mother of St. Lonan of Treoit<sup>h</sup>. At least, it is evident that there is nothing

<sup>c</sup> *Calendar*.—It will be observed that neither Talmach is mentioned in the ancient *Felire* of St. Aengus the Culdee, composed in the eighth, or beginning of the ninth century. This seems to lead to the conclusion that their names were not then in the Calendar of the Irish Church; although it must be borne in mind that as the metrical rules to which Aengus restricted himself allowed only four lines to a day, it is not possible that he could have aimed at including more than the principal saints.

<sup>d</sup> *Chronicon Pictorum*.—See Irish Version of Nennius, p. 161.

<sup>e</sup> *Intended*.—It is possible, although I think not so probable, that the year 388, when St. Patrick and his sisters were captured by pirates, and sold as slaves in Ireland, may have been meant. If so, the year of Drust's death would be 469.

<sup>f</sup> *Drust Gormoth*.—See Innes, *Civil and Eccl.*

*Hist. of Scotland*, published by the Spalding Club, p. 107. He is called *Dartguitimoth*, an evident corruption, in the Irish copy of the *Chron. Pictorum*. See *Irish Version of Nennius*, p. 163.

<sup>g</sup> *Two Drusts*.—Irish Version of Nennius, p. 162, note <sup>e</sup>.

<sup>h</sup> *Troit*.—Or Trifod, now Trivett, in the county Meath. The word signifies *three sods*, and the place received this name from the circumstance of three sods having been turned up at the interment of Art, son of Conn of the hundred battles, in this place which had been formerly called *Dumhaderg-luachra*. Hence came the custom of placing a sod at the head, and one at each side of the corpse at funerals, in the name of the Trinity; and the place where Art was buried obtained the name of *Треѣѡд*, *three sods*. See the note in the Martyrology of Donegal at Nov. 1; and the Four Masters at A. D. 134.

inconsistent with the received Chronology of the Irish and Pictish, or British history of the period in the legend recorded by our Scholiast. All the personages named in it, so far as dates are concerned, may have been contemporary, and may have taken the parts assigned to them in the narrative. I am, therefore, strongly disposed to receive it, as being, in all its main facts, a narrative of true and authentic history.

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In conclusion, it is only necessary to notice the opinion which the Scholiast states was entertained by some, that the author of this Hymn was "Ambrosius;" that is to say, Ambrose of Milan, who was celebrated in Ireland, and was called, as we have seen (see p. 70 *supra*), *Hymnodicus*, from his having been the author of several ecclesiastical Hymns. But this was probably the guess of some person who desired to find a more dignified author and origin for the Hymn than that which the singular legend told by the Scholiast has assigned to it, and who therefore suggested that Ambrose may have composed it "in his sickness," that is, either on some occasion when he himself was suffering from sickness (although no particular mention of any such occasion occurs in his history), or else during a season of common plague or sickness, which would be more in accordance with the words of the Hymn.

But this opinion is unworthy of any further discussion, and that which attributed the Hymn to David still less so. The Scholiast has, in fact, himself rejected this latter opinion as absurd, and has judiciously remarked, that it has no foundation except in the circumstance that the passage at the conclusion of the Hymn, *Dic angelo tuo percutienti populum, Sufficit*, is taken from the words in which the sacred historian records the cessation of the plague, which was the consequence of David's sin in numbering the people.—2 *Sam.* xxiv. 16.

It cannot, however, be denied, that the subject matter of the Hymn does by no means accord with the opinion that it was composed by Mugint as a penitential acknowledgment of his fault, under the circumstances recorded in the legend told by our Scholiast. It contains no allusion to any individual repentance. It makes no individual confession of sin. It is altogether general, deprecating the vengeance of the Almighty from the people, or from some city, *civitate ista*, or monastery (for so *civitas* often signified); and alluding particularly to the fear of a hostile invasion.

The story of Mugint, Rioc, and Talmach, may, nevertheless, be authentic and true, although it be not true that the Hymn was composed by Mugint, in reference to those transactions, to which, in fact, it makes no allusion whatsoever. The Scholiast has related a genuine historical tradition, but erred in supposing that the Hymn with which he connects it was composed on that occasion.

*Postscript.*—After the foregoing pages were in type the Editor received from his friend Dr. Reeves the following remarks on the questions discussed pp. 103–108. Although he does not see cause to cancel what he has written, he is anxious that the reader should have before him the judgment of a scholar whose opinion is entitled to the highest consideration. He therefore inserts Dr. Reeves's communication in this place:—

“There can be little doubt that the Scholiast intended Whitherna in North Britain to be the scene of the transaction which he relates. The Saxon name, which Ailredus latinizes *Witerna*, and is as closely represented by *Futerna* as the Irish admits, as well as the introduction of the Pictish King's daughter, clearly points to Galloway. Again, the association of the names Monennius, or Nennio, with a monastery called *Candida* or *Alba*, in the lives of SS. Tigernach, Eugenius, and Enda, indicates that the writers of these memoirs had reference to the same place.

“On the other hand, there is ground for supposing that part of the narrative is drawn from Wales: the name Mugint answers so exactly to the Welsh Meugan, and the ‘Rosnatense,’ or ‘Rosnatum monasterium,’ which is given as the alias for *Candida*, is so like the ‘Rosina vallis’ in which the church of Mennevia, or St. David's, is situate, that a suspicion arises concerning their identity. St. David himself was instructed by Paulinus, the Pawl Hên of the Welsh, who had founded a monastery called *Ty-Gwyn ar Daf*, or ‘White House on the Tave,’ now known as Whitland in Carmarthenshire. Besides, the ‘duo Finiani,’ that is, of Movilla and Clonard, appear at the head of the ‘Secundus Ordo’ of Irish saints who ‘a Davide episcopo, et Gilla, et a Doco Britonibus missam acceperunt’ (Ussher, *Ant. Brit. Ec.* xvii. *Works*, vol. vi. p. 478). In the life of the latter Finian express mention is made of his being in company with SS. David, Cathmael, and Gildas, and subsequently as attached to a monastery of Cathmael, who was the Cadoc of the Welsh, and the Docus of the Irish. I cannot help thinking that there is a confusion of persons and places in the legend; and this custom of coupling the names Monennius and Rosnatum shows itself curiously enough in the life of a saint of different nation, sex, and age, namely, *St. Monenna*, who is represented in one life as sending her disciple Brignat across the sea to Britain to the island ‘de Rosnatensi monasterio,’ which Conchubran calls Andresie, a spot near Burton-on-Trent. (*Act. SS. Julii*, tom. ii. pp. 294 b, 309 a.)

“It is also matter for consideration whether the *Magnum Monasterium* of Capgrave may not be an equivalent for the *Bancor Faur* of the Welsh.”

IRISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,  
FOR THE PRINTING OF  
THE GENEALOGICAL, ECCLESIASTICAL, BARDIC, TOPOGRAPHICAL, AND  
HISTORICAL REMAINS  
OF  
IRELAND.

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FOUNDED A. D. MDCCCXL.

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A GENERAL MEETING of the Society was held in the Board Room of the Royal Irish Academy on Friday, the 6th of August, 1852,

THE RIGHT HON. LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE in the Chair.

The Secretary read the following Report from the Council :

“ At the General Meeting of the Irish Archæological Society, in December, 1849, the Council laid before you a statement of the difficulties they had to encounter, owing to the large amount of arrears due to the Society by its Members.

“ This circumstance was the occasion of so much embarrassment that the Council have been compelled, by the necessity of the case, to act somewhat irregularly, in abstaining from summoning a public meeting of the Society ; and they have also since that time forborne to make any Report, having, in fact, but little to bring before you except a repetition of the complaint, and a statement of the efforts they have made to carry out, notwithstanding, the objects for which the Society was founded.

“ Through the munificence of some zealous friends to Ireland and Irish literature, the Council have been enabled to keep up the publications of the Society, and to present you with the same amount of valuable matter which you have hitherto received.



“In 1849 the ‘*Macariæ Excidium*’ was published, with the valuable and voluminous notes of Mr. O’Callaghan, containing a complete guide to a knowledge of the state of Ireland during the eventful struggle under James II., and references to almost all the existing authorities for the history of that period.

“This work, however, exceeded very considerably in bulk the amount of letterpress which could be produced, in a mercantile point of view, as equivalent to a single subscription, and ought, in fact, to be regarded as a publication for two years. The expense of it would have added greatly to the difficulties of the Society, were it not for the liberality of Dr. Reeves, who printed, at his own sole expense, and presented to the Society as your publication for 1850, the valuable Visitation Roll of Primate Colton, which gives so curious and instructive a picture of the ecclesiastical condition of the north of Ireland at the close of the fourteenth century. For this most timely and munificent donation the thanks of the Society have already been voted to Dr. Reeves.

“In 1851 the Council were also enabled, without embarrassment to the funds of the Society, to present you with a most interesting volume, containing an authentic detail of the labours of Sir William Petty in the important Survey of Ireland, commonly called the ‘Down Survey.’ This work had long remained in MS., and almost unknown, until the kindness of the Provost and Senior Fellows of Trinity College, and of the Marquis of Lansdowne, placed at the disposal of the Council two valuable copies of it, both coeval with the author, and made probably under his inspection. From these the text of your recent publication has been formed, under the superintendence of Major Larcom, who has himself been practically engaged in a survey of Ireland, from which have already resulted benefits to the landed interests of the country still more important than those which followed from Sir W. Petty’s labours.

“Thus far the Council have succeeded in carrying on the objects of the Society without being compelled to ask for any indulgence from its Members. Your publications have appeared regularly, and without any delay, within the year for which they were intended ; and they are equal in value and bulk to those which you were in the habit of receiving when the funds of the Society were more adequate to its objects, and the prospects of continued support more cheering.

“It was intended that the Leger Book of Gerald, Earl of Kildare, in 1518,  
should

should have formed the publication for the present year: and that work was actually put to Press.

“ You are aware, from the last Report, that this book was to have been published at the expense of our excellent Vice-President, the Marquis of Kildare, who munificently proposed to present it to the Society, after the example set by Dr. Reeves. But two difficulties intervened. In the first place it was found that the publication would have proved more expensive than was originally contemplated; and secondly, it was feared that it could not be of any general interest or value, as it contained little more than a rent-roll of the Earl's property, throwing scarcely any light on the history or antiquity of the country generally. This latter objection had been foreseen from the first, and it was proposed to meet it by engaging our tried friend and ally, Dean Butler, to prefix to it some historical notices of the Geraldine family, which could not have failed to make the publication interesting to every Irishman, and would have furnished an opportunity for the publication of several curious historical documents hitherto inaccessible or unknown. It was found, however, that this was impossible. Dean Butler was unable to procure the necessary permission to transcribe such unpublished historical documents as would have given this additional interest to his introduction; and it seemed unnecessary, as well as inconsistent with the objects of the Society, to put forth what was already, for substance, in the hands of all students of our history.

“ For these reasons this publication was abandoned. It was thought scarcely fair to the Marquis of Kildare to permit him to spend a large sum of money in the printing of a work that was not likely to prove satisfactory to the Members of the Society; and, on communicating the difficulty to his Lordship, he acquiesced at once in the opinion of the Council. But the Marquis did not therefore lay aside his wish to benefit the Society. In consenting to relinquish the publication of the ‘Kildare Book,’ for the reasons set before him by the Council, the Marquis most kindly signified his intention of contributing 50*l.* to the funds of the Society, to assist in the publication of ‘Cormac's Glossary.’

“ This important work had never been lost sight of, and it now became the duty of the Council to direct their exclusive attention to it. It will not be necessary to repeat what was said in the last Report on this subject. It must suffice to remind you of the statement made to the Council by Dr. Graves, and published in that Report, of the difficulties which attend the preparation of such

a work for the Press.\* These difficulties were increased by the state of Dr. Graves's health, who was ordered by his medical advisers to abstain for a time from all severe mental exertion, and was, consequently, compelled to relinquish the labour of editing the work.

" This task has therefore been committed to Dr. Todd, in conjunction with Dr. O'Donovan and Mr. Curry; and considerable progress has been made, although much still remains to be done, in preparing the work for the Press.

" But, before the Council could feel themselves at liberty to undertake the risk of printing such a work, it became necessary to examine into the pecuniary means at their disposal, in order to guard against incurring a responsibility that they would be unable to meet.

" It is calculated that the cost of the publication cannot be much less than 500*l.*, and consequently it is obviously impossible, with the present small number of Members, to give such a work as an equivalent for a single subscription. It was suggested, therefore, to divide it into two parts, and give it as the publication for two years. Even this, however, is not very practicable, as the liabilities of the Society at present amount to about one hundred and fifty pounds.

" The Council were therefore compelled to pause, and to consider whether any modification of the rules of the Society could be made which would have the effect of increasing the funds at their disposal, or of enabling them to superintend the publication of our ancient literature on more advantageous terms.

" It had been frequently urged upon the consideration of the Council, that the rule which required an entrance fee of 3*l.* on the admission of every new Member operated to the exclusion of many who would otherwise have willingly joined the Society. There were, nevertheless, great advantages in that rule, and many difficulties in the way of its repeal.

" After a full consideration of the subject, it was at length resolved to admit Associate Members under certain conditions; and the Council agreed to propose to the Society certain modifications of its fundamental rules, intended to carry out this resolution. They, therefore, in July, 1851, drew up the following statement, a copy of which was sent to every Member of the Society:—

“ ‘ The

\* This Report will be found bound up with the *Macariæ Excidium*, or Destruction of Cyprus, the Society's publication for 1849.

“ ‘The Council are desirous of proposing to the Members the following alterations in the Fundamental Rules of the Society, with a view to make the Society more generally known and more extensively useful. The alterations proposed are printed in Italics.

“ ‘I. *The Society shall consist of Members and Associates.*

“ ‘II. The number of Members shall be limited to 500. *The number of Associates shall be unlimited.*

“ ‘III. The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Council, consisting of a President, three Vice-Presidents, and twelve others, to be elected annually by the Society from the Members.

“ ‘IV. All Members *and Associates* shall be elected by the Council, *on being proposed by a Member.*

“ ‘V. Each Member shall pay four pounds on the first year of his election, and one pound every subsequent year. *Associates shall pay one pound per annum only, without any entrance fee.* All subscriptions to be paid in advance, and to become due on the first day of January annually.

“ ‘VI. Such Members as desire it may become Life Members, on payment of the sum of thirteen pounds, or ten pounds (if they have already paid their entrance fee), in lieu of the annual subscription.

“ ‘VII. Every Member whose subscription is not in arrear shall be entitled to receive one copy of each publication of the Society issued subsequently to his admission; and the books printed by the Society shall not be sold to the Public.

“ ‘VIII. *Associates may become Members, on signifying their wish to the Council, and on payment of the entrance fee of three pounds.*

“ ‘IX. *Associates are entitled to a copy of all publications issued by the Society during the year for which they have paid a subscription.*

“ ‘X. *Associates may be present at the meetings of the Society, but cannot speak or vote, nor are they eligible on the Council, or to any office in the Society.*

“ ‘XI. No Member who is three months in arrear of his subscription shall be entitled to vote, or to any other privileges of a Member; and any Member who shall be one year in arrear shall be considered as having resigned. *Associates who are in arrear shall cease, ipso facto, to belong to the Society.*

“ ‘XII. Any Member or Associate who shall gratuitously edit any book, approved of by the Council, shall be entitled to twenty copies of such book, when printed, for his own use; and the Council shall, at all times, be ready to receive suggestions relative to rare books or manuscripts which may seem worthy of being printed by the Society.

“ ‘XIII.



“ XIII. The Council shall have power to appoint officers; and to make By-laws not inconsistent with the Fundamental Laws of the Society.

“ XIV. No person shall be elected a Member of the Society until the entrance fee and subscription for the current year be paid to the Treasurer or one of the Local Secretaries.

“ The object of the foregoing alterations is, to extend the usefulness of the Society, by enlarging the number of those who are entitled to the Society's publications.

“ The Council beg to inform the Society, that “ Sir William Petty's Narrative of his Proceedings in the Survey of Ireland,” edited by THOMAS A. LARCOM, Esq., R. E., is now nearly ready, and will form the Society's Publication for the year 1851.

“ CORMAC'S GLOSSARY is also far advanced: some sheets are actually printed off, and the whole is nearly ready for the Press. Its publication has been delayed solely in consequence of the large arrears of subscriptions due by Members, and the small amount of funds in the hands of the Treasurer. The Council would earnestly entreat the zealous co-operation of the Members of the Society, and of the Irish Public at large, to enable them to proceed with this most important national work. They take this opportunity of returning thanks to the Most Noble the Marquis of Kildare, for a donation of fifty pounds in aid of the Publication. It is a work, however, of extreme difficulty, requiring the greatest research and labour on the part of the Editors, and involving considerable expense.

“ The Council are aware that the difficulties with which the gentry of Ireland have had to contend for the last few years, are, in a great degree, the cause of the large arrears of subscriptions due to the Society; but they beg of the Members to consider that it will be impossible to carry out the objects for which the Society was founded, unless these arrears can be collected. They therefore enclose in this circular, to each Member whose subscription is in arrear, a statement of his account, earnestly entreating him to liquidate the debt at his earliest convenience, in order that the Council may be able to ascertain what funds they can count upon for the future Publications of the Society.

“ Those Members who have ceased to feel any interest in the preservation of our ancient literature, and who have resolved to discontinue their subscriptions, will greatly oblige by informing the Council of their intentions.

“ The

“ ‘The most effectual manner in which Members can promote the interest of the Society is, by procuring the admission of new Members and Associates. The Council will also be happy to receive donations towards the printing of Cormac’s Glossary, or of any other of the intended Publications of the Society.

“ ‘Subscriptions are to be paid to the Treasurer, DR. AQUILLA SMITH, 121, Baggot-street; or to EDWARD CLIBBORN, ESQ., Royal Irish Academy, Grafton-street, Dublin.’

“ ‘This appeal was circulated not only for the purpose of giving every Member due notice of the alterations proposed, but also in the hope of obtaining the opinions of the Members upon that measure, with suggestions for giving greater efficiency to the new constitution of the Society. Nevertheless, it is remarkable, and not a little discouraging, that in reply to the foregoing circular not so much as one such suggestion was ever received.

“ ‘The question, therefore, now remains for the decision of this meeting, whether you will sanction the foregoing alterations in the original rules of the Society, or whether there are any other modifications of them that will more fully meet your views. It seems now pretty certain, from the small number of new Members that have joined the Society during the last three years, that unless some alteration of the Rules be adopted which will have the effect of increasing your funds, and creating a greater public interest in your proceedings, the purpose for which the Society was founded cannot be carried out.

“ ‘The next subject of embarrassment to the Council was the publication of a volume for the present year; and this led to the necessity of considering whether some change ought not to be made generally in the manner of publishing the works undertaken by the Society. The small amount of funds at the actual disposal of the Council, and the uncertainty attending the collection of arrears, rendered it extremely difficult to undertake so large and costly a work as ‘Cormac’s Glossary.’ It was therefore proposed to open a subscription for that work in particular, and to receive subscriptions for it from those who were not Members of the Society, as well as from those who were. The times, however, were unpropitious for such an attempt; and upon consulting our publishers, Messrs. Hodges and Smith, their well-known public spirit induced them to make a proposal to the Council for effecting the same object in another way.

“ ‘They

"They propose to undertake the whole risk of the publication of 'Cormac's Glossary,' and to supply the Society with as many copies of the work as may be required for our Members, at the rate of 18s. a book; provided they are permitted to sell the remaining copies to the public, at a price not less than 25s. per copy.

"They have made a similar offer with respect to the 'Treatise on Ogham Writing,' which Dr. Graves has prepared for publication, and which is in fact nearly ready for the Press. They agree to print it at their own risk, and to furnish the Society with such copies as we may require, at 25 per cent. under the selling price of the book to the public.

"The Council did not hesitate a moment in accepting, so far as they have it in their power to do so, this most liberal offer, which they consider highly advantageous to the Society. It involves, however, as you will observe, a very serious question, which deserves your most careful consideration, as it may affect very seriously the future welfare of the Society. The proposal made by Messrs. Hodges and Smith cannot be accepted without abandoning, in the case of the books to which it relates, one of the fundamental rules of the Society, namely, that our books should not be sold to the public; and it is open to the objection which originally led to that rule being enacted, viz., that the public will probably not join the Society as Members, if they can obtain such of our books as may seem most interesting by simply ordering them from a book-seller.

"But when it is considered that few of our Members have joined the Society merely to obtain our books, and that their real object, no doubt, was to support an institution founded for the preservation and illustration of the ancient literature of Ireland, the Council are of opinion that this objection ought not to be allowed to prevail against the manifest advantage of the proposal made to us by Messrs. Hodges and Smith. Nevertheless, as this proposal involves a temporary suspension of one of our fundamental laws, which has hitherto been rigidly acted upon by the Society, it is not within the power of the Council to close absolutely with Messrs. Hodges and Smith, until their proposal has received the approbation of this general meeting. The Council, however, beg leave to recommend that proposal to your adoption, as being most liberal and public-spirited on the part of the proposers, and as insuring the continuance of your publications without the risk which must otherwise be encountered, and  
which,

which, in the present circumstances of the Society, must have the effect of completely paralyzing their exertions.

“It is intended, if the proposal made by Messrs. Hodges and Smith be adopted and sanctioned at this meeting, that the tract on the Ogham Writing, with the translations and other valuable illustrations collected by Dr. Graves, shall form the publication of the Society for 1852; and as his health is now happily restored, it is hoped that this work may be promised as likely to be ready for delivery before the end of the year.

“In the mean time the editors who have undertaken ‘Cormac’s Glossary’ will proceed with their labours, and we trust they may be enabled to bring it out before the end of 1853, if the arrangement already alluded to with Messrs. Hodges and Smith be approved of by the Society.

“The curious tract on the Wars of the Danes in Ireland, which has been prepared for publication by Dr. Todd, is also in a forward state; and if the necessity for doing so should continue, it is hoped that some similar agreement with our publishers may be entered into which will enable the editor to put it to Press as the Society’s publication for 1854. Upon this subject, however, the Council will have an opportunity of again consulting you, before they come to any final conclusion.

“It will be seen, therefore, that, notwithstanding the difficulties with which the Society has been surrounded during the last few years, there is still a fair prospect of our being able to continue our publications, if we receive any encouragement from our Members and from the public. The books which have been spoken of are equal, if not superior, in point of interest and literary importance, to any that have been hitherto published by this or any similar Society; and it seems probable that if the Members of the Society could be induced to make any exertion, the prospect of possessing such works might act as a strong inducement with many to join the Society, especially as the new rules, if they should meet with your approbation, will enable many now to join us with whom the entrance fee was formerly an insuperable obstacle.

“But the Members of the Society must exert themselves for this purpose, to induce their friends to become Members or Associates. Unless some such exertion be made, the Society must die a natural death.

“The Council have also proposed that Dr. Todd and Dr. O’Donovan shall be the Honorary Secretaries of the Society, and Mr. Curry the Assistant Secretary;



tary; as it is, in fact, upon those gentlemen that the main labour of conducting the business and publications of the Society has hitherto fallen.

"They have also thankfully accepted the kind offer of Mr. Clibborn, to receive subscriptions from Members, and to be the referee to whom noblemen and gentlemen wishing to join the Society may be referred for information. But subscriptions will also continue to be received by Messrs. Hodges and Smith, and by the Treasurer, Dr. Aquilla Smith.

"It remains now only to report that since the last General Meeting of the Society in December, 1849, we have lost by death the following Members:

The Earl of Donoughmore.	Rev. James Ingram, D. D., President
The Earl of Dunraven.	of Trinity College, Oxford.
Lieut.-General Robert H. Birch.	Sir William J. Homan, Bart.
Robert Burrowes, Esq.	Rev. John Lingard, D. D.
Rev. T. De Vere Coneys.	Edmund Mac Donnell, Esq.
James Hamilton, Esq.	W. Reilly, Esq.
The Very Rev. Edward G. Hudson,	Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, Bart.
Dean of Armagh.	Colonel William Stewart.

"The following Members have resigned:

The Viscount Courtenay.	Rev. William S. Gilly, D. D.
Miss J. M. R. Currer.	Sinclair K. Mulholland, Esq.
Evelyn P. Shirley, Esq.	

"Within the same period the following new Members have been elected:

Chief Baron Pigot.	Terence Donnelly, Esq., New York.
Florence Mahony, Esq.	William T. Mulvany, Esq.
A. M. Reilly, Esq.	John Slevin, Esq., Philadelphia.
Joseph Hanly, Esq.	James Slevin, Esq., Philadelphia.

"The following have signified their wish to become Associates, if the proposed modifications of our fundamental rules should be sanctioned by the Society:

Miss H. M. C. Shulahan.	John P. Prendergast, Esq.
Stephen Ram, Esq.	

"It may be convenient to repeat here what was stated in the last Report, that Members of the Society can purchase, by application to the Treasurer, the past publications issued by the Society at the following prices:

Complete

Complete sets (to the end of 1851), . . .	£8	8s.	<i>od.</i>
Grace's Annals, . . . . .	0	8	0
Battle of Magh Rath (Moirá), . . . . .	0	10	0
Tracts, vol. 2, . . . . .	0	10	0
Account of Hy-Many, . . . . .	0	12	0
Obits and Martyrology of Christ Church, . . . . .	0	12	0
Register of All Saints, Dublin, . . . . .	0	7	0
Account of Hy-Fiachrach, . . . . .	0	12	0
O'Flaherty's West Connaught, . . . . .	0	15	0
Irish Archæological Miscellany, . . . . .	0	8	0
Irish Version of Nennius, . . . . .	0	15	0
Clyn's and Dowling's Annals, . . . . .	0	8	0
Macariæ Excidium, . . . . .	1	0	0
Primate Colton's Visitation (not to be sold).			
Sir William Petty's Down Survey, . . . . .	0	15	0

"The first volume of Tracts relating to Ireland, published in 1841, is out of print, with the exception of a few copies reserved for the complete sets of the Society's publications. This volume cannot, therefore, be sold, except with a complete set."

"It should be noted that the privilege of purchasing the publications of the Society at these reduced rates will belong to Members of the Society only, and not to Associates elected under the new rules."

The Report having been read, it was moved and seconded, and resolved unanimously,

"1. That the Report now read be adopted and printed, and a copy of it sent to every Member of the Society."

The Chairman said they owed a great deal to the Council for their attention to the interests of the Society, and for their admirable Report. He could see no objection to the adoption of the proposed arrangement with Messrs. Hodges and Smith, as such a course did not tie them down to a continuance of the practice in future, if they did not think it necessary. As regarded the Associate Members, he

thought the proposal to admit them on the terms mentioned was judicious, and ought to be carried out. The entrance fee, to his own knowledge, deterred many persons from becoming Members ; and the practice was, besides, falling into disuse with similar Societies in England.

The following Resolutions were then moved and seconded, and carried unanimously :

" 2. That the Fundamental Rules of the Society, as proposed and recommended in the Report, be adopted, and be henceforth the Fundamental Rules of the Society."

" 3. That the Council be authorized to make the arrangement with Messrs. Hodges and Smith, as recommended in the Report ; and that the thanks of the Society be voted to Messrs. Hodges and Smith for their liberal and public-spirited proposal."

" 4. That John O'Callaghan, Esq., and the Very Rev. Dr. Renehan, be appointed Auditors for the ensuing year, and that their statement of the Accounts of the Society (to 31st December, 1851) be printed as an Appendix to the Report."

" 5. That his Grace the Duke of Leinster be requested to continue to hold the Office of President of the Society, and that the Most Noble the Marquis of Kildare, the Right Hon. the Earl of Leitrim, the Right Hon. the Earl of Dunraven, and Right Hon. Lord Talbot de Malahide, be elected Vice-Presidents of the Society."

" 6. That the following be elected as the Council for the ensuing year :

Eugene Curry, Esq.  
Rev. Charles Graves, D. D.  
William E. Hudson, Esq.  
Thomas A. Lareom, Esq.  
John O'Callaghan, Esq."  
John O'Donovan, Esq., LL. D.

George Petrie, Esq., LL. D.  
Rev. William Reeves, D. D.  
Very Rev. Laurence F. Renehan, D. D.  
Aquilla Smith, M. D.  
Joseph Huband Smith, Esq.  
Rev. J. H. Todd, D. D."

" 7. That the thanks of the Society be voted to the Most Noble the Marquis of Kildare for his donation of 50*l.*, contributed to the funds of the Society for the publication of Cormac's Glossary."

" That

"8. That the thanks of the Society be voted to the President and Council of the Royal Irish Academy, for their kindness in permitting this meeting to be held in their rooms."

Dr. Todd having called the attention of the Society to the operation of one of the new Fundamental Rules (No. XI.), whereby any Member who is one year in arrear will henceforth be considered as having resigned, the Treasurer was requested to prepare a circular, calling the attention of all Members, and especially of those in arrear, to this circumstance; and it was ordered that the operation of this Rule should be suspended until such notice was sent to each Member.

Dr. Aquilla Smith having remarked, that of the eight new Members elected since the last Report three were Irishmen settled in America, Dr. Todd took occasion to mention that a very great interest was taken in the proceedings of this Society by our countrymen and the descendants of our countrymen in America, and that he was in correspondence with the Rev. John O'Hanlon, of the city of Carondolet, who was exerting himself with great zeal for the formation of an auxiliary Society in the United States, to assist us with funds for the publication of our ancient Irish literature.

It was resolved, on the motion of Dr. Todd, seconded by the Very Rev. Dr. Renehan, that the thanks of the Society be voted to Mr. O'Hanlon, and that a complete set of the Society's publications be presented to him, with the understanding that he is to use it for the present according to his discretion, for the promotion of the object he has in view, and that he is ultimately to secure its being preserved in some public library or other permanent depository in the United States.

It was moved by George Petrie, Esq., and seconded by Dr. Todd,

"That the thanks of this Meeting be given to Lord Talbot de Malahide for his conduct in the Chair on this occasion, and for the warm interest he has always taken in the welfare of the Society."

And then the Society adjourned.

REPORT



# REPORT OF THE AUDITORS.

## AN ABSTRACT OF THE RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE OF THE SOCIETY,

FROM THE 31ST DAY OF DECEMBER, 1849, TO THE 31ST DAY OF DECEMBER, 1851.

<i>Dr.</i>		£	s.	d.	<i>Cr.</i>		£	s.	d.	
1850. <i>Sept.</i> 6.	To Messrs. Hodges and Smith, on account of printing, paper, binding, &c., "Macariae Excidium," . . . . .		114	14	5	1849. <i>Dec.</i> 31.	By balance to credit of Society in last account, . . . . .	0	9	4
<i>Oct.</i> 2.	To Ditto, Ditto, . . . . .		50	0	0		By life compositions, entrance fees, and annual subscriptions received, for 1850 and 1851, . . . . .	970	0	0
1851. <i>Feb.</i> 15.	To Ditto, Ditto, . . . . .		50	0	0					
<i>Aug.</i> 16.	To Ditto, Ditto, . . . . .		50	0	0					
<i>Dec.</i> 9.	To Ditto, Ditto, . . . . .		50	0	0					
<i>Feb.</i> 8.	To Mr. Thorpe, late Assistant Secretary, one year's salary, to 1st November, 1850, . . . . .		10	0	0					
<i>Feb.</i> 18.	To Dr. O'Donovan, on account of editing Cormac's Glossary, . . . . .		7	10	0					
To sundries paid by Treasurer, . . . . .			7	2	2					
<i>Dec.</i> 31.	To balance to credit of the Society, . . . . .		31	2	9					
			£370	9	4					

(Signed) JOHN C. O'CALLAGHAN, }  
L. F. RENEHAN, } *Auditors.*

# IRISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

1852-53.

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## Patron :

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE ALBERT.

## President :

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF LEINSTER.

## Vice-Presidents :

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF KILDARE, M. R. I. A.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF LEITRIM, M. R. I. A.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN, M. R. I. A.

THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, M. R. I. A.

## Council :

EUGENE CURRY, ESQ.

REV. CHARLES GRAVES, D. D., M. R. I. A.

WILLIAM E. HUDSON, ESQ., M. R. I. A.

THOMAS A. LARCOM, R. E., M. R. I. A.

JOHN C. O'CALLAGHAN, ESQ., M. R. I. A.

JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL. D., M. R. I. A.

GEO. PETRIE, LL. D., R.H.A., V.P.R.I.A.

REV. WILLIAM REEVES, D. D., M. R. I. A.

VERY REV. LAURENCE F. RENEHAN, D. D.,  
President of St. Patrick's College, May-  
nooth.

AQUILLA SMITH, M. D., M. R. I. A.

J. HUBAND SMITH, A. M., M. R. I. A.

REV. J. H. TODD, D. D., M. R. I. A.

## Treasurer :

DR. AQUILLA SMITH.

## Honorary Secretaries :

REV. J. H. TODD, D. D., AND JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL. D.

## Assistant Secretary :

EUGENE CURRY, ESQ.

PUBLICATIONS

## PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY.

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### FOR THE YEAR 1841.

#### I. Tracts relating to Ireland, vol. 1. containing :

1. The Circuit of Ireland ; by Muirheartach Mac Neill, Prince of Aileach ; a Poem written in the year 942 by Cormacan Eigeas, Chief Poet of the North of Ireland. Edited, with a Translation and Notes, and a Map of the Circuit, by JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL. D.
2. "A Brife Description of Ireland, made in the year 1589, by Robert Payne, vnto xxv. of his partners, for whom he is vndertaker there." Reprinted from the second edition, London, 1590, with a Preface and Notes, by AQUILLA SMITH, M. D., M. R. I. A.

II. The Annals of Ireland, by James Grace of Kilkenny. Edited from the MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, in the original Latin, with a Translation and Notes, by the Rev. RICHARD BUTLER, A. B., M. R. I. A.

### FOR THE YEAR 1842.

I. *Cath Muiroighi Rath*. The Battle of Magh Rath (Moirá), from an ancient MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Edited in the original Irish, with a Translation and Notes, by JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL. D.

#### II. Tracts relating to Ireland, vol. 11. containing :

1. "A Treatise of Ireland ; by John Dymmok." Edited from a MS. in the British Museum, with Notes, by the Rev. RICHARD BUTLER, A. B., M. R. I. A.
2. The Annals of Multifernam ; from the original MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Edited by AQUILLA SMITH, M. D., M. R. I. A.
3. A Statute passed at a Parliament held at Kilkenny, A.D. 1367 ; from a MS. in the British Museum. Edited, with a Translation and Notes, by JAMES HARDIMAN, Esq., M. R. I. A.

### FOR THE YEAR 1843.

I. An account of the Tribes and Customs of the District of Hy-Many, commonly called O'Kelly's Country, in the Counties of Galway and Roscommon. Edited from the Book of Lecan in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, in the original Irish ; with a Translation and Notes, and a Map of Hy-Many, by JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL. D.

II. The Book of Obits and Martyrology of the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, commonly called Christ Church, Dublin. Edited from the original MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. By the Rev. JOHN CLARKE CROSTHWATE, A. M., Rector of St. Mary-at-Hill, and St. Andrew Hubbard, London. With an Introduction by JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D. D., V. P. R. I. A., Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin.

FOR

## FOR THE YEAR 1844.

I. Registrum Ecclesie Omnium Sanctorum juxta Dublin; from the original MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Edited by the Rev. RICHARD BUTLER, A. B., M. R. I. A.

II. An Account of the Tribes and Customs of the District of Hy-Fiachrach, in the Counties of Sligo and Mayo. Edited from the Book of Lecan, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, and from a copy of the Mac Firbis MS. in the possession of the Earl of Roden. With a Translation and Notes, and a Map of Hy-Fiachrach. By JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL. D.

## FOR THE YEAR 1845.

A Description of West or H-Iar Connaught, by Roderic O'Flaherty, Author of the Ogygia, written A. D. 1684. Edited from a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin; with copious Notes and an Appendix. By JAMES HARDIMAN, Esq., M. R. I. A.

## FOR THE YEAR 1846.

The Miscellany of the Irish Archaeological Society. Vol. I. containing :

1. An ancient Poem attributed to St. Columbkille, with a Translation and Notes by JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL. D.
2. De Concilio Hiberniæ; the earliest extant record of a Parliament in Ireland; with Notes by the Rev. R. BUTLER.
3. Copy of the Award as concerning the Tolboll (Dublin): contributed by Dr. AQUILLA SMITH.
4. Pedigree of Dr. Dominick Lynch, Regent of the Colledge of St. Thomas of Aquin, in Seville, A. D. 1674: contributed by JAMES HARDIMAN, Esq.
5. A Latin Poem, by Dr. John Lynch, Author of *Cambrensis Eversus*, in reply to the Question *Cur in patriam non redis?* Contributed by JAMES HARDIMAN, Esq.
6. The Obits of Kilcormick, now Frankfort, King's County; contributed by the Rev. J. H. TODD.
7. Ancient Testaments: contributed by Dr. AQUILLA SMITH.
8. Autograph Letter of Thady O'Roddy: with some Notices of the Author by the Rev. J. H. TODD.
9. Autograph Letter of Oliver Cromwell to his Son, Harry Cromwell, Commander-in-Chief in Ireland: contributed by Dr. A. SMITH.
10. The Irish Charters in the Book of Kells, with a Translation and Notes by JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL. D.
11. Original Charter granted by John Lord of Ireland, to the Abbey of Mellifont: contributed by Dr. A. SMITH.
12. A Journey to Connaught in 1709 by Dr. Thomas Molyneux: contributed by Dr. A. SMITH.
13. A Covenant in Irish between Mageoghegan and the Fox; with a Translation and historical Notices of the two Families, by JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL. D.
14. The Annals of Ireland, from A. D. 1453 to 1468, translated from a lost Irish original, by Dudley Furbisse; with Notes by J. O'DONOVAN, LL. D.



## FOR THE YEAR 1847.

The Irish Version of the "Historia Britonum" of Nennius, or, as it is called in Irish MSS., *Leabhar brechtad*, the British Book. Edited from the book of Balimote, collated with copies in the Book of Lecan and in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, with a Translation and Notes by JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D. D., M. R. I. A., Fellow of Trinity College, &c.; and Additional Notes and an Introduction by the Hon. ALGERNON HERBERT.

## FOR THE YEAR 1848.

The Latin Annalists of Ireland; edited with introductory Remarks and Notes by the Very Rev. RICHARD BUTLER, M. R. I. A., Dean of Clonmacnois,—viz.:

1. The Annals of Ireland, by John Clyn, of Kilkenny; from a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, collated with another in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.
2. The Annals of Ireland, by Thady Dowling, Chancellor of Leighlin. From a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.

## FOR THE YEAR 1849.

Macariæ Excidium, the Destruction of Cyprus; being a secret History of the Civil War in Ireland, under James II., by Colonel Charles O'Kelly. Edited in the Latin from a MS. presented by the late Professor M'Cullagh to the Library of the Royal Irish Academy; with a Translation from a MS. of the seventeenth century; and Notes by JOHN O'CALLAGHAN, Esq.

## FOR THE YEAR 1850.

Acts of Archbishop Colton in his Visitation of the Diocese of Derry, A. D. 1397. Edited from the original Roll, with Introduction and Notes, by WILLIAM REEVES, D. D., M. R. I. A.

[PRESENTED TO THE SOCIETY BY THE REV. DR. REEVES.]

## FOR THE YEAR 1851.

Sir William Petty's Narrative of his Proceedings in the Survey of Ireland; from a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Edited, with Notes, by THOMAS A. LARCOM, Esq., R. E., V. P. R. I. A.

## WORKS IN THE PRESS.

I. A Treatise on the Ogham or Occult Forms of Writing of the ancient Irish; from a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin; with a Translation and Notes, and Preliminary Dissertation, by the Rev. CHARLES GRAVES, D. D., M. R. I. A., Fellow of Trinity College, and Professor of Mathematics in the University of Dublin.

II. Cormac's Glossary. Edited by JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D. D., M. R. I. A., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Professor of Hebrew in the University of Dublin; with a Translation and Notes by JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL. D., M. R. I. A., Professor of Irish in the Queen's College, Belfast, and EUGENE CURRY, Esq.

FUNDAMENTAL

## PUBLICATIONS SUGGESTED OR IN PROGRESS.

The following Works are many of them ready for the Press, and will be undertaken as soon as the funds of the Society will permit :

- I. The Irish Archæological Miscellany, vol. II.
- II. The Annals of Ulster. With a Translation and Notes. Edited from a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, collated with the Translation made for Sir James Ware by Dudley or Duaid Mac Firbis, a MS. in the British Museum, by JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D. D., M. R. I. A., and JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL. D., M. R. I. A.
- III. The Annals of Innisfallen ; from a MS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford ; with a Translation and Notes by JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL. D.
- IV. Ecclesiastical Taxation of Ireland, circ. 1300. Edited from the original Exchequer Rolls in the Carlton-Ride Record Office, London, with Notes, by the Rev. WILLIAM REEVES, D. D., M. R. I. A., of Trinity College, Dublin.
- V. The Liber Hymnorum ; from the original MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Edited by the Rev. JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D. D., M. R. I. A., Fellow of Trinity College, and the Rev. WILLIAM REEVES, D. D., M. R. I. A.
- VI. Articles of Capitulation and Surrender of Cities, Towns, Castles, Forts, &c., in Ireland, to the Parliamentary Forces, from A. D. 1649 to 1654. Edited, with Historical Notices, by JAMES HARDIMAN, Esq., M. R. I. A.
- VII. The Genealogy and History of the Saints of Ireland : from the Book of Lecan. Edited, with a Translation and Notes, by JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL. D., and JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D. D.
- VIII. An Account of the Fírbolgs and Danes of Ireland, by Duaid Mac Firbis, from a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin ; with a Translation and Notes, by JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL. D.
- IX. *Boipama*. The Origin and History of the Boromean Tribute. Edited from a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, with a Translation and Notes, by EUGENE CURRY, Esq.
- X. The Progresses of the Lords Lieutenant in Ireland ; from MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Edited by JOSEPH HUBAND SMITH, A. M., M. R. I. A.
- XI. The Topographical Poems of O'Heerin and O'Duggan ; with Notes by JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL. D.
- XII. *Coḡaḋ ḡaḋibeal pe ḡallaib*. The Wars of the Irish and Danes. Edited, with a Translation and Notes, from a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, collated with a MS. in the handwriting of Fr. Michael O'Clery, now in the Burgundian Library at Brussels. By JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D. D., and JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL. D.
- XIII. The Municipal Laws of Dublin, from a MS. in the possession of the Lord Mayor and Corporation. Edited by the Very Rev. RICHARD BUTLER, Dean of Clonmacnois.

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In addition to the foregoing projected Publications, there are many important works in the contemplation of the Council, which want of funds alone prevents the possibility of their undertaking, such as the Brehon Laws, the Dinnsenchus, the Annals of Connaught, the Annals of Tighernach, the Hagiographical works of St. Aengus the Culdee, the Martyrology of Donegal, &c., &c.

## FUNDAMENTAL LAWS.

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- I. The Society shall consist of Members and Associates.
- II. The number of Members shall be limited to 500. The number of Associates shall be unlimited.
- III. The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Council, consisting of a President, three Vice-Presidents, and twelve others, to be elected annually by the Society from the Members.
- IV. All Members and Associates shall be elected by the Council, on being proposed by a Member.
- V. Each Member shall pay four pounds on the first year of his election, and one pound every subsequent year. Associates shall pay one pound per annum only, without any entrance fee. All subscriptions to be paid in advance, and to become due on the first day of January annually.
- VI. Such Members as desire it may become Life Members, on payment of the sum of thirteen pounds, or ten pounds (if they have already paid their entrance fee), in lieu of the annual subscription.
- VII. Every Member whose subscription is not in arrear shall be entitled to receive one copy of each publication of the Society issued subsequently to his admission; and the books printed by the Society shall not be sold to the Public.
- VIII. Associates may become Members, on signifying their wish to the Council, and on payment of the entrance fee of three pounds.
- IX. Associates are entitled to a copy of all publications issued by the Society during the year for which they have paid a subscription.
- X. Associates may be present at the meetings of the Society, but cannot speak or vote; nor are they eligible on the Council, or to any office in the Society.
- XI. No Member who is three months in arrear of his subscription shall be entitled to vote, or to any other privileges of a Member; and any Member who shall be one year in arrear shall be considered as having resigned. Associates who are in arrear shall cease, *ipso facto*, to belong to the Society.
- XII. Any Member or Associate who shall gratuitously edit any book, approved of by the Council, shall be entitled to twenty copies of such book, when printed, for his own use; and the Council shall, at all times, be ready to receive suggestions relative to rare books or manuscripts which may seem worthy of being printed by the Society.
- XIII. The Council shall have power to appoint officers; and to make By-laws not inconsistent with the Fundamental Laws of the Society.
- XIV. No person shall be elected a Member of the Society until the entrance fee and subscription for the current year be paid to the Treasurer or one of the Local Secretaries.

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Noblemen and Gentlemen desirous of becoming Members of the Society are requested to communicate with the REV. DR. TODD, *Secretary*, Trinity College, Dublin.

Subscriptions are to be paid to the *Treasurer*, DR. AQUILLA SMITH, 121, Baggot-street; or to EDWARD CLIBBORN, Esq., Royal Irish Academy, Dawson-street, Dublin.

# IRISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY,

FOR THE PRINTING OF

THE GENEALOGICAL, ECCLESIASTICAL, BARDIC, TOPOGRAPHICAL, AND  
HISTORICAL REMAINS

OF

IRELAND.

---

FOUNDED A. D. MDCCCXL.

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A GENERAL MEETING of the Society was held in the Board Room of the Royal Irish Academy on Saturday, the 1st day of April, 1854,

THE RIGHT HON. LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, V. P., in the Chair.

The Secretary read the following Report from the Council:

“The Council feel called upon, on again summoning a General Meeting of the IRISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, to give some account of the measures they have taken for carrying out the objects of the Society.

“It has been already stated, in the Report made to our last Annual Meeting, that a very large amount of arrears of subscriptions was due to the Society by its Members. This arrear continues to embarrass the Society, and has occasioned great delay in the appearance of the Publications which are in progress.

“It was the original rule of the Society that the annual subscriptions should be paid in advance; and it is obvious that the enforcement of this rule is essential to the working of the Society. It will be remembered that the noblemen and gentlemen who have undertaken the responsible duty of superintending the publications of the Society have no pecuniary interest in those publications; they give their time and labour, which to many of them are of great value, gratuitously; and it is not fair to them to place them in the disagreeable position

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of



of being unable to foresee at the beginning of each year what funds they are to have at their disposal. The Members of the Society cannot expect the Council to render themselves personally responsible to a printer or publisher for the expenses of the Society's publications. It is, therefore, quite manifest that unless the Council are able to ascertain at the beginning of the year what funds are likely to be available, they must necessarily feel very reluctant to undertake the responsibility of an expensive publication.

"This observation is made with a view to refute an impression which appears to prevail amongst some Members of the Society, that they are not bound to pay their subscriptions until after they had received the publications of the year. The very reverse is the case ; and it is obvious that on no other principle could such a Society as this be carried on. The Council are not bound to publish until they have received the subscriptions for the year in advance.

"At the foundation of the Society hopes were entertained that it would have received a very liberal support from the nobility and gentry of Ireland ; and in this hope the Council undertook the publications which have appeared, at an expense much greater than the funds at their disposal warranted, believing that these publications would form the best advertisement of the Society, and in the confident expectation that the patriotism of the Irish people, and their zeal for the preservation of the language and national literature of Ireland would ultimately be awakened on behalf of a Society which had for its object the preservation of our history, the publication of the genealogies of our ancient families, of the poetry of our bards, and of our hagiological and ecclesiastical annals.

"The Council believe that the series of publications which have been issued by the Irish Archæological Society since its foundation, will bear comparison with those of any similar Society for solid historical value, as well as for the learning, ability, and accuracy with which they have been edited.

"Nevertheless, these publications have cost more, owing to the circumstances already alluded to, than the number of Members actually paying their subscriptions would have warranted the Council in expending, if they could have foreseen the small amount of permanent support which the Society has received.

"In particular, the publication for 1849 has been so costly, as compared with the number of Members who have paid their subscriptions for that year, that the Council, as already intimated in the Report presented to you at your last General Meeting, felt that it ought to have been divided into two, and regarded as a publication for two years. They were in hopes, however, that the arrears due by Members would have been collected, and that they would thus have been enabled to offer this work as the publication of the Society for 1849. But in this hope they have been disappointed, and are, therefore, compelled to make the 'Macariæ Excidium' their publication for the two years 1849 and 1850, transferring 'Archbishop Colton's Visitation of Derry' to the year 1851, and 'Sir William Petty's Survey of Ireland' to 1852.

"The Book of Oghams,' edited by Dr. Graves, will, therefore, be the Society's publication for 1853. This work is already far advanced, and may be expected in a few weeks. The following extract from a letter received by the Secretary from Dr. Graves will put the Society in possession of the present state of this very curious and important work:—

"The Irish text of the whole work is printed off. The translation is also in type, and nearly ready to be worked off. A considerable portion of the notes is in type. Six lithographed plates, containing fac-similes of Ogham inscriptions, are worked off and ready.

"The introductory matter alone remains to be written, and a few of the notes; but the materials for these portions of the work have been collected, and nothing now remains except to put them into proper shape.'

"The very great difficulties which 'Cormac's Glossary' presents to the editor have continued to retard its publication; but it is satisfactory to be able to report that the researches of Dr. O'Donovan and Mr. Curry, in the study of the 'Brehon Laws,' are daily throwing light upon the difficult words and phrases of the Glossary; and those gentlemen have strongly advised the editor to keep back the publication until the labours of the Brehon Law Commission are more advanced.

"Dr. Todd has, therefore, recommenced his long projected publication of the 'Wars of the Danes in Ireland.' Dr. O'Donovan has kindly undertaken to give him the benefit of his great topographical knowledge of Ireland in editing this important work, and is now actually engaged in collecting materials for its illustration. He has also been favoured, by the great liberality of

the Belgian Government, with a loan of the MS., in the handwriting of Michael O'Clery, belonging to the Burgundian Library at Brussels—a MS. which is of essential service in the formation of the text.

“If the Members of the Society, therefore, will now give their support to the Council, this very important work will probably be brought out and placed in their hands before the close of the present year.

“The Council regret that it is their painful duty to announce to you that no less than eleven Members have been lost to the Society by death during the past year. Their names are as follow :

Abraham Whyte Baker, Esq.	William Elliott Hudson, Esq.
Colonel Henry Bruen.	Pierce Mahony, Esq.
Sir Montague L. Chapman, Bart.	Andrew Milliken, Esq.
James Strathern Close, Esq., Q. C.	George Lewis Smythe, Esq.
Frederick William Conway, Esq.	James Ruddell Todd, Esq.
Rev. Peter Cooper.	

“And one Member, viz.,

Walter M. Bond, Esq.,

has resigned.

“The following new Members have been elected :

Henry Grattan, Esq., Life Member.	Charles Compton William Donville, Esq.
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“Also, the following Associates :

Daniel Devlin, Esq. ;	Robert T. Walsh, Esq. ; all of New York.
Joseph Fisher, Esq. ;	W. H. Blaauw, Esq., Secretary of the
Thomas Andrews, Esq. ; and	Sussex Archaeological Society.

“The first four of these have been elected as the first fruits of the efforts made in favour of this Society in America, as announced in the Report made to your last General Meeting.

“At the last General Meeting of the Society some very important alterations were made in your Fundamental Laws. Associate Members were admitted to the privilege of obtaining your publications, without paying an entrance fee, on payment of the annual subscription of 1*l.* a year.

“This regulation opened the door for another measure which the Council would now recommend to your adoption, namely, the union of this Society with

with the Celtic Society, under the name of THE IRISH ACHÆOLOGICAL AND CELTIC SOCIETY.

“The object of both Societies being the same, namely, the publication of the materials of Irish history, and especially those which exist in the Irish language, it is obviously most desirable that the efforts of those who are labouring in this cause should be concentrated, and that even the appearance of separation, where no real cause of disunion existed, should be avoided.

“The Celtic Society, at their late General Meeting, have already consented to the terms of this union, as previously agreed upon by the Councils of the two Societies, and you are now called upon to express your opinions upon this measure, and, if it should meet your approval, to adopt the following Fundamental Laws, which are the basis of this union, as the laws of the United Society :

“FUNDAMENTAL LAWS.

“I. The Society shall consist of Members and Associates.

“II. The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Council, consisting of a President, five Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, two Secretaries, and fourteen others, to be elected annually by the Society from the Members.

“III. All Members and Associates shall be elected by the Council, on being proposed by a Member ; and no person shall be elected either a Member or an Associate of the Society until he has made the requisite payments.

IV. Each Member shall pay four pounds on the first year of his election, and one pound every subsequent year. Associates shall pay one pound per annum only, without any entrance fee. All subscriptions to be paid in advance, and to become due on the first day of January, annually.

“V. Such Members as desire it may become Life Members, on payment of the sum of thirteen pounds, or ten pounds (if they have already paid their entrance fee), in lieu of the annual subscription.

“VI. Every Member whose subscription is not in arrear shall be entitled to receive one copy of each publication of the Society issued subsequently to his admission ; and the books printed by the Society shall not be sold to the public.

“VII. Associates may become Members, on signifying their wish to the Council, and on payment of the entrance fee of three pounds.

“VIII. Associates shall receive a copy of all publications issued by the Society during the year for which they have paid a subscription ; but shall not be entitled to any other privileges.

“IX. No Member who is three months in arrear of his subscription shall be entitled to vote, or to any other privileges of a Member ; and any Member who shall be one year in arrear

shall



shall be considered as having resigned. Associates who are in arrear shall cease, *ipso facto*, to belong to the Society.

“ X. The Council shall have power to appoint officers; and to make By-Laws not inconsistent with the Fundamental Laws of the Society.”

“ It is also proposed by the Council, in the event of your adopting this recommendation, that the following noblemen and gentlemen shall constitute the President, Vice-Presidents, Council, and Officers of the ‘ Irish Archæological and Celtic Society ’ for the ensuing year :

PRESIDENT :

His Grace the Duke of Leinster.

VICE-PRESIDENTS :

† The Most Noble the Marquis of Kildare,  
M. R. I. A.

The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Leitrim, M. R. I. A.

† The Right Hon. the Earl of Dunraven,  
M. R. I. A.

† The Right Hon. Lord Talbot de Malahide, M. R. I. A.

† Very Rev. L. F. Renshan, D. D., President of Maynooth College.

COUNCIL :

† Eugene Curry, M. R. I. A.

\* Rev. Thomas Farrelly.

† Rev. Charles Graves, D. D., F. T. C. D.,  
M. R. I. A.

\* Rev. James Graves, A. B.

\* Rev. Matthew Kelly.

Thomas A. Larcom, Lieut.-Col. R. E.,  
M. R. I. A.

\* Patrick V. Fitzpatrick, Esq.

John C. O’Callaghan, Esq.

† John O’Donovan, LL. D., M. R. I. A.

† George Petrie, LL. D., V. P., M. R. I. A.

† Rev. William Reeves, D. D., M. R. I. A.

\* Rev. Charles Russell, D. D.

Joseph H. Smith, M. R. I. A.

\* William R. Wilde, F. R. C. S. I.

TREASURER :

Aquilla Smith, M. D., M. R. I. A.

SECRETARIES :

J. H. Todd, D. D., S. F. T. C. D.

| \* John T. Gilbert, Esq.

NOTE.—Those marked with an asterisk were Members of the Council of the Celtic Society; the † denotes Members of the Councils of both Societies.

“ It is agreed by the Council, as one of the conditions of union, that all existing Members of the Celtic Society, who are not Members of the Irish Archæological Society, shall be Associates of the united Society, with the privilege of becoming Members on payment of the entrance fee of 3*l.*; and  
Life

Life Members of either Society shall continue to retain their privileges in the united Society.

“Should it be your pleasure to adopt the recommendations of the Council, and to sanction this union, it will become the duty of the Council to carry it into effect. A balance-sheet of the existing funds and liabilities of each Society will be prepared. The liabilities of each Society will be, in the first instance, discharged before any union is declared, and the balance in favour of each Society transferred to the credit of the united Society, it being understood that the existing Treasurers of the Archæological and Celtic Societies shall become personally responsible for any liability of their respective Societies, incurred before the date of union, which they have not included in the balance-sheet of their accounts.”

The following Resolutions were then moved and seconded, and carried unanimously:

“1. That the Report now read be adopted and printed, and a copy of it sent to every Member of the Society.”

“2. That the proposed union of the Irish Archæological and Celtic Societies be agreed to, and that the Council be authorized to take the necessary steps for carrying this union into effect.”

“3. That the noblemen and gentlemen named in the Report shall be the President, Vice-Presidents, Council, and Officers of the Irish Archæological and Celtic Society, for the ensuing year.”

“4. That John O'Callaghan, Esq., and Robert Callwell, Esq., be appointed to audit the Treasurer's account for the present year, preparatory to the union of the two Societies.”

“5. That it be suggested to the Council to add to the Fundamental Laws of the united Society a law which would enable the Society to call public attention, when necessary, to the preservation of our ancient architectural and other antiquities.”

“6. That the thanks of the Society be voted to the President and Council of the Royal Irish Academy for permitting this meeting to be held in their rooms.”

## PUBLICATIONS OF THE SOCIETY.

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### FOR THE YEAR 1841.

#### I. Tracts relating to Ireland, vol. 1. containing :

1. The Circuit of Ireland; by Muirheartach Mac Neill, Prince of Aileach: a Poem written in the year 942 by Cormacan Eigeas, Chief Poet of the North of Ireland. Edited, with a Translation and Notes, and a Map of the Circuit, by JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL. D.
2. "A Brief Description of Ireland, made in the year 1589, by Robert Payne, vnto xxv. of his partners, for whom he is vnderaker there." Reprinted from the second edition, London, 1590. with a Preface and Notes, by AQUILLA SMITH, M. D., M. R. I. A.

II. The Annals of Ireland, by James Grace of Kilkenny. Edited from the MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, in the original Latin, with a Translation and Notes, by the Rev. RICHARD BUTLER, A. B., M. R. I. A.

### FOR THE YEAR 1842.

I. *Cath Mungu Rath*. The Battle of Magh Rath (Moira), from an ancient MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Edited in the original Irish, with a Translation and Notes, by JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL. D.

#### II. Tracts relating to Ireland, vol. 11. containing :

1. "A Treatise of Ireland; by John Dymmok." Edited from a MS. in the British Museum, with Notes, by the Very Rev. RICHARD BUTLER, A. B., M. R. I. A., Dean of Clonmacnois.
2. The Annals of Multifernan; from the original MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Edited by AQUILLA SMITH, M. D., M. R. I. A.
3. A Statute passed at a Parliament held at Kilkenny, A. D. 1367; from a MS. in the British Museum. Edited, with a Translation and Notes, by JAMES HARDIMAN, Esq., M. R. I. A.

### FOR THE YEAR 1843.

I. An account of the Tribes and Customs of the District of Hy-Many, commonly called O'Kelly's Country, in the Counties of Galway and Roscommon. Edited from the Book of Lecan in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, in the original Irish; with a Translation and Notes, and a Map of Hy-Many, by JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL. D.

II. The Book of Obits and Martyrology of the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, commonly called Christ Church, Dublin. Edited from the original MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. By the Rev. JOHN CLARKE CROSTWAIKE, A. M., Rector of St. Mary-at-Hill, and St. Andrew Hubbard, London. With an Introduction by JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D. D., V. P. R. I. A., Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin.

FOR

## FOR THE YEAR 1844.

I. Registrum Ecclesie Omnium Sanctorum juxta Dublin; from the original MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Edited by the Very Rev. RICHARD BUTLER, A. B., M. R. I. A., Dean of Clonmacnois.

II. An Account of the Tribes and Customs of the District of Hy-Fiachrach, in the Counties of Sligo and Mayo. Edited from the Book of Lecan, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, and from a copy of the Mac Firbis MS. in the possession of the Earl of Roden. With a Translation and Notes, and a Map of Hy-Fiachrach. By JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL. D.

## FOR THE YEAR 1845.

A Description of West or H-Iar Connaught, by Roderic O'Flaherty, Author of the *Ogygia*, written A. D. 1684. Edited from a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin; with copious Notes and an Appendix. By JAMES HARDIMAN, Esq., M. R. I. A.

## FOR THE YEAR 1846.

The Miscellany of the Irish Archæological Society. Vol. I. containing:

1. An ancient Poem attributed to St. Columbkille, with a Translation and Notes by JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL. D.
2. De Concilio Hiberniæ; the earliest extant record of a Parliament in Ireland; with Notes by the Very Rev. R. BUTLER.
3. Copy of the Award as concerning the Tolboll (Dublin): contributed by Dr. AQUILLA SMITH.
4. Pedigree of Dr. Dominick Lynch, Regent of the Colledge of St. Thomas of Aquin, in Seville. A. D. 1674: contributed by JAMES HARDIMAN, Esq.
5. A Latin Poem, by Dr. John Lynch, Author of *Cambrensis Eversus*, in reply to the Question *Cur in patriam non redis?* Contributed by JAMES HARDIMAN, Esq.
6. The Obits of Kilcormick, now Frankfort, King's County: contributed by the Rev. J. H. TODD.
7. Ancient Testaments: contributed by Dr. AQUILLA SMITH.
8. Autograph Letter of Thady O'Roddy: with some Notices of the Author by the Rev. J. H. TODD.
9. Autograph Letter of Oliver Cromwell to his Son, Harry Cromwell, Commander-in-Chief in Ireland: contributed by Dr. A. SMITH.
10. The Irish Charters in the Book of Kells, with a Translation and Notes by JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL. D.
11. Original Charter granted by John Lord of Ireland, to the Abbey of Mellifont: contributed by Dr. A. SMITH.
12. A Journey to Connaught in 1709 by Dr. Thomas Molyneux: contributed by Dr. A. SMITH.
13. A Covenant in Irish between Mageoghegan and the Fox; with a Translation and historical Notices of the two Families, by JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL. D.
14. The Annals of Ireland, from A. D. 1453 to 1468, translated from a lost Irish original, by Dudley Ffirbisse; with Notes by J. O'DONOVAN, LL. D.



## FOR THE YEAR 1847.

The Irish Version of the "Historia Britonum" of Nennius, or, as it is called in Irish MSS., *Leabhar Brecht*, the British Book. Edited from the Book of Balinote, collated with copies in the Book of Lecan and in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, with a Translation and Notes by JAMES HENTON TODD, D. D., M. R. I. A., Fellow of Trinity College, &c.; and additional Notes, and an Introduction by the Hon. ALGERNON HERBERT.

## FOR THE YEAR 1848.

The Latin Annals of Ireland; edited with introductory Remarks and Notes by the Very Rev. RICHARD BUTLER, M. R. I. A., Dean of Clonmacnois,—viz.:

1. The Annals of Ireland, by John Clyn, of Kilkenny; from a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, collated with another in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.
2. The Annals of Ireland, by Thady Dowling, Chancellor of Leighlin. From a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.

## FOR THE YEARS 1849 AND 1850.

Macariae Excidium, the Destruction of Cyprus; being a secret History of the Civil War in Ireland, under James II., by Colonel Charles O'Kelly. Edited in the Latin from a MS. presented by the late Professor McCullagh to the Library of the Royal Irish Academy; with a Translation from a MS. of the seventeenth century; and Notes by JOHN O'CALLAGHAN, Esq.

## FOR THE YEAR 1851.

Acts of Archbishop Colton in his Visitation of the Diocese of Derry, A. D. 1397. Edited from the original Roll, with Introduction and Notes, by WILLIAM REEVES, D. D., M. R. I. A.

[PRESENTED TO THE SOCIETY BY THE REV. DR. REEVES.]

## FOR THE YEAR 1852.

Sir William Petty's Narrative of his Proceedings in the Survey of Ireland; from a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Edited, with Notes, by THOMAS A. LARCOM, Esq., R. E., V. P. R. I. A.

## FOR THE YEAR 1853.

A Treatise on the Ogham or Occult Forms of Writing of the ancient Irish: from a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin; with a Translation and Notes, and Preliminary Dissertation, by the Rev. CHARLES GRAVES, D. D., M. R. I. A., Fellow of Trinity College, and Professor of Mathematics in the University of Dublin. *In the Press.*

## PUBLICATIONS SUGGESTED OR IN PROGRESS.

The following Works are many of them ready for the Press, and will be undertaken as soon as the funds of the Society will permit :—

I. Cormac's Glossary. Edited by JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D. D., M. R. I. A., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Professor of Hebrew in the University of Dublin; with a Translation and Notes by JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL. D., M. R. I. A., Professor of Irish in the Queen's College, Belfast, and EUGENE CURRY, Esq.

II. Cogad Gaoitheal re Gallaid. The Wars of the Irish and Danes. Edited, with a Translation and Notes, from a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, collated with a MS. in the handwriting of Fr. Michael O'Clery, now in the Burgundian Library at Brussels. By JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D. D., and JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL. D.

III. The Irish Archaeological Miscellany, vol. II.

IV. The Annals of Ulster. With a Translation and Notes. Edited from a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, collated with the Translation made for Sir James Ware by Dudley or Duaid Mac Firbis, a MS. in the British Museum, by JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D. D., M. R. I. A., and JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL. D., M. R. I. A.

V. The Annals of Inisfallen; from a MS. in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; with a Translation and Notes by JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL. D.

VI. Ecclesiastical Taxation of Ireland, circ. 1300. Edited from the original Exchequer Rolls in the Carlton-Ride Record Office, London, with Notes, by the Rev. WILLIAM REEVES, D. D., M. R. I. A., of Trinity College, Dublin.

VII. The Liber Hymnorum; from the original MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Edited by the Rev. JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D. D., M. R. I. A., Fellow of Trinity College, and the Rev. WILLIAM REEVES, D. D., M. R. I. A.

VIII. Articles of Capitulation and Surrender of Cities, Towns, Castles, Forts, &c., in Ireland, to the Parliamentary Forces, from A. D. 1649 to 1654. Edited, with Historical Notices, by JAMES HARDIMAN, Esq., M. R. I. A.

IX. The Genealogy and History of the Saints of Ireland: from the Book of Lecan. Edited, with a Translation and Notes, by JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL. D., and JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D. D.

X. An Account of the Firbolgs and Danes of Ireland, by Duaid Mac Firbis, from a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin; with a Translation and Notes, by JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL. D.

XI. Bopoma. The Origin and History of the Boromean Tribute. Edited from a MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, with a Translation and Notes, by EUGENE CURRY, Esq.

XII. The Progresses of the Lords Lieutenant in Ireland; from MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. Edited by JOSEPH HUBAND SMITH, A. M., M. R. I. A.

XIII. The Topographical Poems of O'Heerin and O'Duggan; with Notes by JOHN O'DONOVAN, LL. D.

XIV. The Municipal Laws of Dublin, from a MS. in the possession of the Lord Mayor and Corporation. Edited by the Very Rev. RICHARD BUTLER, Dean of Clonmacnois.

The

The first publication of the IRISH ARCHEOLOGICAL AND CELTIC SOCIETY, for 1854, will be the following :—

HYMNS OF THE ANTIEST IRISH CHURCH, selected from the *Liber Hymnorum*, a MS. of the ninth century, in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. By JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D. D., M. R. I. A., F. S. A., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Professor of Hebrew in the University of Dublin, Fellow of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries of Copenhagen, &c. *In the Press.*

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In addition to the foregoing projected Publications, there are many important works in the contemplation of the Council, which want of funds alone prevents the possibility of their undertaking, such as the *Dinnseanchus*, the Annals of Connaught, the Annals of Tighearnach, the Hagiographical works of St. Aengus the Culdee, the Martyrology of Donegal, &c. &c.

Noblemen and gentlemen desirous of becoming Members of the Society are requested to communicate with the Secretaries, Rev. Dr. Todd, and J. T. Gilbert, Esq., 35, Trinity College, Dublin. Subscriptions will be received by the Treasurer, Aquilla Smith, M. D., and by Edward Clibborn, Esq., Royal Irish Academy, Dawson-street, Dublin.

# *Eabhar Imuin. The Book of Hymns of the Ancient Church of Ireland.*

## FASCICULUS II.

Containing

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|--|---|
| V. The Hymn of St. Colman Mac Ui Cluasaigh.                                      | XIII. Te Deum Laudamus.   |
| VI. The Hymn of St. Cuchuimne.   | XIV. The Hymn of St. Columba, "Altus Pro-<br>sator."                          |
| VII. The Hymn of St. Hilary in Praise of Christ.                                 | XV. The Hymn of St. Columba, "In te,<br>Christe."                             |
| VIII. The Hymn of St. Colman Mac Murchon,<br>in Praise of Michael the Archangel. | XVI. The Hymn of St. Columba, "Noli Pater."                                   |
| IX. The Hymn of St. Oengus Mac Tipraite in<br>Praise of St. Martin.              | XVII. The Prayer of St. John the Evangelist.                                  |
| X. Gloria in Excelsis Deo.   | XVIII. The Epistle of Christ to Abgarus, King<br>of Edessa.                   |
| XI. The Magnificat, or Hymn of the Blessed<br>Virgin.                            | XIX. Prefatory Remarks on the Hymn of<br>St. Fiacc, in Praise of St. Patrick. |
| XII. The Benedictus, or Hymn of Zacharias.                                       |   |

EDITED,

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT IN THE LIBRARY OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN,

With Translation and Notes,

BY JAMES HENTHORN TODD, D. D., M. R. I. A., F. S. A.,

Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Præcentor of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin.

DUBLIN:

Printed at the University Press,

FOR THE IRISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND CELTIC SOCIETY.

1869.



DUBLIN:  
Printed at the University Press,  
BY M. H. GILL.

THE  
IRISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND CELTIC SOCIETY.

MDCCCLXIX.

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President :

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF LEINSTER.

Vice-Presidents :

THE MOST NOBLE THE MARQUIS OF KILDARE, M. R. I. A.

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN, M. R. I. A.

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*November, 1869.*



### ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS Fasciculus contains all the sheets which the late lamented Editor signed for the Press, before ill health and other obstacles interrupted the progress of the work. It is issued by direction of the Council in its present state, as a second instalment of the publication from the Editor's pen ; with the reasonable hope that, as Doctor TODD has left some materials for the continuation, and as there are two Members of the Society prepared to take up the work where he left off, another Fasciculus, carrying on the pagination and matter as originally proposed, will be ready for delivery at no distant period.

J. T. GILBERT, *Hon. Secretary.*

19, DAWSON-STREET, DUBLIN,  
*November, 1869.*





## V. THE HYMN OF ST. COLMAN MAC UI CLUASAIGH.

THE following composition is of the nature of what the ancient Irish ecclesiastics called a *Luirech*, or *Lorica*, i. e., a Hymn to be recited as a protection against pestilence, assaults of demons, or other apprehended evils. The recitation of such hymns, or prayers, was regarded as the buckling on of spiritual armour, and hence they received the name of *Lorica*, in allusion probably to Eph. vi. 14, *seq.*, or rather perhaps to Ps. xci. (Vulg. xc.) 4, 5, 6. An example of a hymn of this kind, which is evidently Irish, and is attributed to one "Lathacan<sup>1</sup> Scotigena," will be found in Mone's collection, *Hymn. Lat. Mediæ Ævi*, vol. i. p. 367.

Of the Colman who is said to have been the author of the following Hymn, we know little except what we learn from the Preface of the Scholiast. He is there said to have been the son of the grandson of Cluasach; but who this Cluasach was, or what family bore his name, the Editor is unable to say. It appears, however, that Colman was a *Fer-Leghinn*, i. e., Lecturer or Professor, in the theological school or seminary of Cork, and that the Hymn was composed as a protection against the great pestilence which devastated Ireland in the seventh century. This seems to fix the date of its composition to shortly before A. D. 664, in which year (according to the chronology of the Four Masters) the two sons of Aedh Slaine, Diarmaid and Blathmac, joint kings of Ireland, with a great number of eminent saints and ecclesiastics, perished in the plague. There can be little doubt that the Colman to whom

<sup>1</sup> *Lathacan*.—This is probably the name which in Irish authorities is written Laidhgeann. Saints of this name are celebrated in the Irish Calendars, at Jan. 12, May 20, Oct. 23, and Nov. 28; but it is not easy to

identify any of them with this "Lathacan." The Four Masters record the death of a Laidhgenn, son of Baeth, of Clonfert Molua, A. D. 610; the Annals of Ulster call him "Laidggenn sapiens mac Baith Bannaigh."

this hymn is attributed by the Scholiast must be regarded as the same who, under the name of "Colman Ua Cluasaigh," is mentioned by the Four Masters as the tutor of St. Cummain, or Cummine Fota, Bishop of Clonfert, and author of an elegy on the death of that prelate, A. D. 661, which has been already quoted.<sup>2</sup>

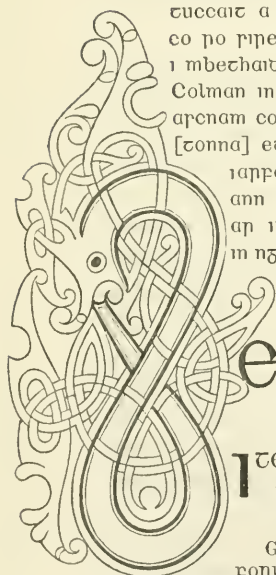
It is believed that this Hymn has never before been published, nor has the Editor been able to find any other MS. copy of it than that from which it is now printed. It is written in a dialect of Irish, which fully confirms the early date assigned to it. The Editor has endeavoured, in the Notes appended to the text, to point out the more important grammatical and philological peculiarities of its idiom, and he takes this opportunity of acknowledging his obligations to Dr. O'Donovan and Mr. Curry. To the former gentleman he is particularly indebted for much valuable philological and grammatical matter which is embodied in the notes; and Mr. Curry has given essential aid in the translation, as well as in deciphering and interpreting the obscurities of the MS. from which the text and its gloss have been printed. He has also to return thanks to Dr. Reeves for many valuable suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> See page 86, *supra*. The Four Masters fix the death of Colman Ua Cluasaigh at the same year as that of his pupil Cummine Fota (viz. A. D. 661); whereas the Scholiast's Preface states that the present hymn was composed on the occasion of the pestilence in which the kings Diarmaid and Blathmac died, viz. A. D. 664. But it is well known that the exact date of this celebrated plague is not very accurately

fixed, and that it continued with more or less intensity for some years. It may, therefore, be true, that our author composed the hymn on the occasion of the plague in which the kings of Ireland perished in 664, although he himself died of the same plague in 661. See Dr. Wilde's *Report on the Tables of Deaths*, (Census of Ireland for 1851, vol. v. p. 49 *sq.*



SEN DE. Colman mac hui Chluarais fep legimb Copcaige ipe do pigne in immanra dia  
foepad ap in mbuibechair po boe iupemir mac nOeda Sláne. Ap portap imba  
doine in hEpin in tan fein, 7 poe a nimmat conna póicheir aét tpi nól immaipe do  
cech fip in hEpin .i. a noi do móin, 7 a noi do min, 7 a noi do chaill. eo po thpoupep  
marthe fep nEpin, im meic nOeda Sláne, im Fechine Pabair, 7 im Ailepan, 7 im Man-  
chan Leith, 7 im pochaide archena, im huatigud na ndoine ap do dechaid terea bíd  
ann ap a nimmed. Conid aipe fein tuccad in buibechair fopru. conid de at baéa-  
tar meic Aeda Sláne ipin bliadain fin. 7 na ppuithe po pádpem 7 alu multí.  
Dicunt alu combad Cholman do gnech uile. Aebepat fapenn aile na dernaí acht  
da pann de namma 7 in feol dia dñaim o fin immach .i. lech pann cech fip díb. I  
Copcaig do pigne in-amfip da mac Aeda Sláne .i. blaithmac 7 Diarmaic. ipe .ñ.  
tuccait a denma. Tídm mór do patad fop fipu hEpin .i. in buide connaill,  
eo po piperap hEpin hule, 7 eo na fapcaib acht cech tpep dune in hEpin  
i mbethaib. 7 conid dia n-anacul eo na feol do pone ap in teidm fin do pime  
Colman in nimunnra, 7 ip ann do pola dopom a denam in tan po thupcanarap  
apenam eo apale mpe mapá hEpin amais fop techeb in teidmapa co mbeap .ix.  
[tonna] etuppu 7cip, ap ni tic teidm tapair innunn, ut fepunt pepití, eo po  
iappaig apale den feol Cholman, ciapen i tapla doib dul fop ret comad  
ann fein. atpubait Colman, cia pen on tpa, ol feprom, acht SEN DE ;  
ap iped po thpiallpatom dul fop mrib mapá immach fop techeb fep  
in ngalup.



EN de donfe fORDONTE mac maire RON peladar  
faoessam dUN INNOCHT cia tiasam cAIN timadar

ITER POSS NO utmaile iter suide NO sssam  
ruire nime fri cech tress issed attach adessam

GLOSS.—1. *Donfe*.—1. non pucca leip [may it be given by him]. *Fordonte*.—1. porund de .i. ti fopm [on us come, i. e. come upon us]. *Ron feladar*.—1. do patá apal topund diapóitín [may He put his veil over us for our protection]. 2. *Faoessam*.—1. faoepitín [may protect]. *Innocht*.—1. in nocte tribulationis. *Cia tiasam*.—1. cepe leach ciapam [wheresoever we go]. *Cain*.—1. alainb [beautiful]. *Timadar*.—1. cid mndai pinn diap díom .i. doné ap ndóin [although numerous, we are to be protected, i. e. he does protect us]. 3. *Foss*.—1. cid fopribecht [whether at rest]. *Utmaile*.—1. cid fop imtecht [whether a going]. 4. *Ruire*.—1. fopí [great King]. *Fri*.—1. contra. *Adessam*.—1. atchmuc [we beseech].

1. *Sen de*.—For a translation of the tional Note (p. 132). The reader will  
Preface and of the Hymn, see the Addi- observe that each line contains fourteen

1 **IT**ge abeil meic adaim heli enoc diarcobair 5  
ron soerat ar dia ngalar secip leth ponuibith fogair

**N**oe ocus abraham isac in mac adamra  
immun tiset ar tedmann nach an tairle adamna

**A**ilme athair tri cethrur ocus ioseph an uasal 10  
ron soerat a herhaigethi co rig nil ainglech huasal

Gloss.—5. *Ilge*.—i. gubimic [we beseech]. *Abeil*.—i. luctus. *Adaim*.—i. terrenus, vel terrigena, vel terra rubra interpretatur. 6. *Dia ngalar*.—i. ap in galup ndian .i. ap in buide connaill [from the sudden pestilence, i. e. from the *buidhe connaill*]. *Fogair*.—i. fogairgep .i. done tomatium [that gives warning, i. e. that makes threatening]. 7. *Noe*.—Noe consolatio interpretatur, quia per ipsum mundus consolatus est, in reparatione hominum. *Abraham*.—i. pater excelsus interpretatur. *Isac*.—i. risus interpretatur, quia per miraculum datus est. 8. *Immun tiset*.—i. tiset immunb [may they come about us]. *Adamna*.—i. adamni, .i. gopca [i. the spelling ought to be adamni, i. e. famine], .i. quia per Adam venit dolor. 9. *Athair*.—i. Jacob. *Tri cethrur*.—i. xii. patriarche. *Joseph*.—i. angumentum interpretatur. *An uasal*.—i. an uapal pep [the noble man]. 10. *Nil ainglech*.—[of many angels] .i. quia [multos] angelos tenet.

syllables; and that there is rhyme or assonance between the final syllables of each line. The word *Sen* in modern Irish signifies luck or prosperity, but in the ancient language it is of frequent occurrence in the sense of *benediction*, as in the *Feilire of Aengus*, *Sen a Chpuir mo labpa*, "Bless, O Christ, my lips." *Sen Oe* is the blessing of God, *Oe* being the genitive case of *Oia*, God. *Donfe*.—This seems like a future, or optative of some old verb, *bunam*, or *donam*. In the Gloss on *popdonte*, we are told that *de* or *te* is for *ti*, *come*; and, therefore, the passage is paraphrased thus: "May the blessing of God be given by Him, may it come upon us." In more modern Irish, *Sen Oe go b-tigib, op-pamn go b-tigib*. *Ron feladar*.—The word *pon* is a synthetic union of the verbal prefix *po*, with *inn* the accusative form of *pinn*, *us*. The termination *adap* represents, in the modern lan-

guage, the 3rd person plural of the preterite; whereas, in *peladap*, it is the 3rd singular present indicative active, with an optative signification. Dr. O'Donovan mentions *epcap*, or *apcap*, as a termination of the 3rd person singular preterite (*Gramm.* p. 157). But *adap* as a termination of the 3rd person singular *present* is the ancient form of the verb deponent; (see Zeuss, *Grammat. Celt.*, p. 444-5). The verb *pelam*, or *pi-lam*, is evidently the Latin *velare*. See the Gloss. *Mac Máipe*, now usually written *Mac Muípe*, is the ordinary Irish designation of our Lord.

2. *Faoessam*.—See line 52. This word is a substantive, and we must understand some word signifying *give*, or *grant*, to obtain the interpretation of "May he protect." The termination *pam*, or *pum*, *ille*, *ipse*, is the emphatic termination. Zeuss, p. 334. *Faoirpeam* is still used to signify *help*, *succour*. *Oun* is the ancient



**S**NAIDSÍUM MOISI DEGTUISECH RONSNAID TRÍÁ RUBRUM MAIRE  
IESU AARON MACC AMRA DAUID IN GÍLLA DANA

**T**OB COSNAPOCHAIDIB SECH NA NEMI RONSNAIDA  
PATHI FIADAT RONANSET LA SECHT MACCU MOCABA

**E**OIN BAPTAIST ADSLUINNEM ROP DICIU DUN ROP SHADUD 15  
IESU CON APSTALAIB ROP DIAR COBAIR FRI GABUD

Gloss.—11. *Snaisium*.—i. pon pnaðe pínð [may he protect us]. *Moisi*.—i. aquaticus, interpretatur, quia de Nilo flumine sumptus est. *Ronsnaid*.—i. populum Israel. 12. *Jesu*.—i. mac Nún [son of Nun]. *Aaron*.—i. mons fortitudinis interpretatur. *Dauid*.—i. fortis manus interpretatur. 13. *Job*.—i. dolens interpretatur. 14. *Fiadat*.—i. fiada .i. fō dia, .i. dia maith [fiada, i.e. fō, good, and dia, God, the good God]. 15. *Eoin*.—i. in quo gratia interpretatur. *Baptist*.—i. qui Christum baptizavit. *Adsluinnem*.—i. aḡlumbmeit aḡ capbeḡ fḡur in hac laube [we declare our love (or reverence) for him in this song of praise]. 16. *Apstalaib*.—Apostolus Grece, missus interpretatur Latine. *Diar cobair*.—i. tīpat dīap cobair [may they come to our relief].

form of *duinn*, i.e., *do inn*, *to us*. *Innocht* would now be written *anocht*, *hac nocte*. Zeuss, p. 1130. *Tiasam*.—Here we have the ancient termination of the 1st person plural, *am*, instead of the modern *mfo*, or *maioib*. The *am* is clearly the Latin *amus*. The modern Irish to express “wheresoever we go” would be, *cibe áit a b-téigimfo*.

4. *Issed*.—For *ip eð*, est id: *eð* is the ancient neuter form of the pronoun. Zeuss, p. 333. *Attach*.—Or *atach*, a request or supplication, .i. *ḡuirde*. O’Clery. *Adessam*.—This is a 1st person plural, according to the Gloss.

5. *Itge*.—Or *itce*, a form of *attach*, v. 4. The interpretations given in the Gloss of the proper names Abel and Adam, are taken from St. Jerome.

6. *Ron soerat*.—pon, for po inn, see note, v. 1. The termination *poep-at* would now be *poep-aib*, 3rd person plural. *Sciep*.—Sometimes written *cécip*, the same as the modern *ḡibe*, for *ḡib be*, or *cib b’e*, whatsoever. *Fon mbith*.—It will

be observed that here, and in several other places in this MS., as *ḡgle*, ver. 37, *haḡḡlu*, ver. 43, the eclipsing *m* or *n* is marked with a dot; and in the Gloss on ver. 5, in *ḡalup nōian*.

7. *Noe*.—The interpretations given in the Gloss of the proper names, *Noe*, *Abraham*, *Isaac*, are from St. Jerome.

8. *Tisat*.—See above, v. 2, note. Here we have the old termination of the 3rd person plural, which is now *aib*. This word would now be written *tigib*, or *tiaḡ-aib*. *Damna*.—*Damnatio*. The gloss on this word seems to consider the prep. *a* an essential part of it; and tells us that *adamna*, or *adamni*, signifying famine, or hunger, is derived from Adam, because by Adam came all suffering.

9. *Ailme*.—For *aíum*, or *aílem*.—The transposition of the *e* may possibly be an error of the transcriber.

11. *Snaisium*.—*May he protect*. On the termination *pium*, see note, v. 2. *Moisi*.—The gloss interprets the name of *Moses* “aquaticus.” St. Jerome, more correctly,

**M**aire ioseph don ringrat et spiritus stepan  
as each inġ don forslaice taithmet anma iġnat

**C**ech martir eech dithrubach eech noeb ro bai hingenmnai  
rop sciaeth duh diar himdeġal rop saiget huan pridemnai 20

**R**egem regum rogamus in nostris sermonibus  
anacht noe a luchtlach diluui temporibus

Gloss.—17. *Maire*.—i. stilla vel stella maris, interpretatur. *Joseph*.—i. aite ipu [the tutor (or foster-father) of Jesus]. *Don ringrat*.—i. pon coġpat diaimnadacul [may they come to our protection]. *Spiritus*.—i. anima vel gratia ejus. *Stefani*.—i. coronatus interpretatur. 18. *Forstaice*.—i. pon puaplaice [may it deliver us]. *Taithmet*.—i. poġ aithmet [commemorate]. 19. *Martir*.—i. pro Deo. *Dithrubach*.—[a hermit] .i. pro Deo. *Noeb*.—[saint] .i. pro Deo. *Hingenmnai*.—i. virg- [initate]. 21. *In nostris*.—i. in Scotica lingua, vel huius ymni. 22. *Anacht*.—i. in pī poanacht [the King who saved]. *A luchtlach*.—i. lucht locha, no a lucht dub .i. [his company on the water, or his black company] Noe cum suis tribus filiis et .iiii. uxores eorum.

“sumptus ex aqua, sive assumptio.” The interpretations of *Aaron* and of *David*, gloss. v. 12, although not very correct, are from St. Jerome. The interpretation of *David*, “manus fortis,” occurs in Origen and other ancient writers, and seems to have been taken from יד, *sufficiens*, and יד, *manus*—an etymology which exhibits a curious ignorance of Hebrew. *Ronsnaid*.—i. e., po inn pnaib, or po pnaib inn, *who protected us*.

13. *Sech*.—*Over, beyond*,—præter, ultra, supra. Zeuss, *Gramm. Celt.* p. 612.

14. *Fiadat*.—This is a very ancient word, signifying the true or good God. The gloss, as above, is an attempt to give its etymology. The scholiast there tells us that piadat is the same as piada, which is derived from po dia, which he explains Dia march, *good God*—po, *good*; Dia, *God*.—See above, p. 84, note 1.

15. *Rop*.—For po ba, which in modern Irish is ġo mba, *may he be*; where it is

to be observed that the ancient po is the equivalent of ġo, giving the optative sense, and not a mere sign of the preterite indicative. *Diliu*.—This word is now dfoin, or dfoean.

17. *Maire*.—The interpretation of the name of Mary, “stilla maris,” is evidently founded on the Hebrew form of the name *Miriam*, as if from מר, *a drop*, and ים, *the sea*. *Stella* seems a misspelling of *stilla*, having, so far as I know, no foundation in any Hebrew etymology. But it occurs in all the editions of St. Jerome’s *Interpretatio Nominum Hebraicorum*, where we have the following:—“*Mariam* plerique æstimant interpretari *illuminant me isti*, vel *illuminatrix* [from the root ראה], vel *smryna maris* [מרים], sed mihi nequaquam videtur. Melius autem est, ut dicamus sonare eam *stellam* [read *stillam*] *maris*, sive *amarum mare* [root מרר]. Sciendumque quod Maria, sermone Syro, *domina* nuncupetur.” *Don ringrat*.—This is glossed pon coġpat, the

**M**elchisedech rex salem incerto de semine  
ron soerat a ainriḡhe ab omni porinnidhne

**S**oter soerus loth di thein qui per secula habetur  
ut nos omnes precamur liberare dignetur

25

**A**bram de ur na ḡalḃai snaiḃsum ruri ronsnaḃa  
soersum soerus in popul lampa pontis ingaba

GLOSS.—23. *Melchisedech*.—i. rex justitiæ interpretatur. 25. *Soerus*.—i. po poepartar [who delivered]. *Loth*.—i. declinans, interpretatur. Loth mac Aran, mic Thara, frater Sarra [Lot the son of Haran, son of Tara, brother of Sara]. 28. *Soersum*.—i. po poepa rinn [may he rescue us]. *Lampa*.—i. cohom abamn [that is a river]. *Ingaba*.—i. ip in ḡabud ipabatap sine aqua quando venit ex Egypto [i. the need in which they were without water, when they came out of Egypt].

don, or pon, being *quod nos* (see note on v. 6). The verbs rinḡpat and toḡpat are the 3rd person plural present, of which the modern form would be rinḡpaib and toḡpaib. The meaning seems to be, “May they be pleased to come to our protection.” Toḡpaim is *to choose, to will, to desire*.

18. *Ignati*.—Over this word is a note taken from some ancient martyrology: a portion of it has been cut away by the binder. What remains is as follows:—“i. Ignatius episcopus secundus post Petrum in Antiochia . . . . . primus, et passus sub Trajano imperatore. Ignatius . . . . . a leonibus et aliis bestiis . . .” It will be observed that Ignatius is here styled “secundus post Petrum,” instead of “tertius,” as in the Roman Martyrology, Feb. 1.

22. *A luchtlaoh*.—The gloss on this word gives two meanings of it, derived from the double signification of loch, which may mean either *water*, or *black*.

23. *Rex Salem*.—Here in the MS. we have the following note as a gloss:

“Hieronymus. Aiunt Ebrei hunc esse Sem filium Noe; et supputantes annos vite ipsius .cccc. ostendunt cum usque ad Isaac vixisse. Alii hunc esse quendam Cannaneum et ignotum cujus Ebrei genealogiam ignorant. Secundum autem Augustinum et Origenem, non homo fuit, sed angelus Domini. Homo sine patre et sine matre et sine genealogia esse non potest.” And in the margin: “Hieronymus. Salem, non ut Josephus et nostrorum omnes arbitrantur, idem est et Hierusalem, sed oppidum iuxta Scithopolim, quod appellatur Salem, et dicitur venisse Jacob in Salem civitatem regionis Sichem, quæ est in terra Chanaan.”—See St. Jerome’s *Quæst. Hebr. in Gen.* [in c. xiv. 18], and *Epist. 73 ad Evangelum*, de Melchisedec, n. 2 and 7 (ed. Vallars.), in which last place the above extract about Salem occurs nearly verbatim. Cf. August. *Quæst. in Heptat. lib. i. 74* [in Gen. xxv. 22].

24. *Ron soerat*.—For po innpoepat a ainriḡhe; in modern Irish, ḡo po poepaib a upnaiḡte inn, *May his prayers deliver us*.

RURI ANAHT TRI MACCU AS URHH TENED CO RUADI  
RON NAM AMAL RO ANAHT DAUID DE MANU GOLAI

30

FLAITHEM NIME LOCHARNAIG ARDONROIGSE DIAR TROGI  
HAD LEIC SUUM PROFETAM ULLI LEONUM ORI

AMAL POEDES IN AINGEL TARSIAIC PETRUM A SLABREIO  
DO ROITER DUN DIAR PORTAHT ROP REIO REMUHH CEEH NAMREIO

Gloss.—29. *Ruri*.—i. popi [i. Great King]. *Anacht*.—i. po angetar [i. saved or protected].  
31. *Flaithem*.—i. plath em [i. noble sovereign]. *Locharnaig*.—i. polupta [luminous]. *Ardon-  
roigse*.—i. ap po aiphre [i. may he have mercy]. 34. *Do roiter*.—i. a Deo.

25. *Soter*.—Here our author employs a Greek word, upon which the scholiast has written the following note in the margin of the MS.: “*Soter*, i. Ebreice, ih̄s, Greece; Salvator, Latine;” where the words “Ebreice” and “Greece” ought to be transposed. *Soerus*.—The relative form of the present indicative active, *who delivers*. The gloss says it is put for the preterite *ro soerastar*, who delivered. *Loth*.—Interpreted in the gloss *declinans*, from St. Jerome, but it really means *velamen*, a veil, or covering. *Qui per secula*.—i. e., the Saviour who lives throughout all ages, and is as able to deliver us now as he was to deliver Lot (cf. 2 Pet. ii. 7), we pray him that he vouchsafe to deliver us all.

27. *Abram*.—Here we have the gloss: “i. Pater excelsus interpretatur, *Abba* enim pater, *ram*, excelsus. Abraham pater multarum interpretatur, et subintellige gentium.”

27. *De Ur*.—In the margin is the following note on this word: “In Ebreo habetur in Ur Chethisim, i. in igne Caldeorum. Tradunt autem Ebrei ex hac occasione istiusmodi fabulam; quod Abraham in ignem

missus est, quia ignem adorare noluerit, quem Caldei colunt, et Dei auxilio liberatus de idololatriæ igne profugerit: quod in sequentibus scribitur, egressum esse Tharam cum sobole sua de regione Caldeorum; pro quo in ebreo habetur de incendio Caldeorum, et missus est Aram adhuc ante conspectum patris sui Thara in igne Caldeorum, quod videlicet ignem nollens adorare igne consumptus est. Loquitur autem Dominus postea ad Abram dicens, Ego sum qui eduxi te de igne Caldeorum.” These words occur in St. Jerome’s *Quæst. Hebraicæ* in Gen. xi. 28.

27. *Ronsnada*.—For po e pnatad̄, *he who protected him*.

28. *Soersum*.—The gloss on this word is worthy of notice, as it tells us that the ancient termination *pum* in verbs, instances of which frequently occur in this Hymn, is the pronoun *pinn*, *we*, or *us*. Thus *paoeppam*, may he protect *us*, ver. 2; *ciatiapam*, wherever *we* go, ver. 2; *pnatppum*, protect *us*, ver. 11, 27.

29. *Tri maccu*.—Here we find the following note: “i. Sedrac, Misac, Abdinago, nomina eorum apud Caldeos; Annanias,



**D**iar fiadat rontolomar nostro opere digno  
 robem occa im bith bethaid in paradisi regno 35

**A**mal soeras ionas faith a bru mil moir monar ngle  
 snaidsiunn deḡ ri tomtach tren sen de donḡe fordonḡe

**R**o fir a fiada ro fir roerthar in ḡuidise  
 ro bet maccan ḡlatha de hi tmeuairḡ na sculese 40

**R**o fir a fiada rop fir risam huile sith ind riḡ  
 sechroiseḡ roissam hi ḡlath nime cotrissam

**R**obbem cen es hillethu la haiḡḡliu im bith bethu  
 \* \* \* \* \*

Gloss.—35. *Diarfadat*.—i. dāp dia maith [to our good God]. *Rontolomar*.—i. rotholc-naḡem [we desire]. 38. *Tomtach*.—i. tomaithmech [forgiving]. 39. *A fiadu*.—i. a de maith [O good God]. *Roerthar*.—i. roepmichur [let it be granted, or performed]. 40. *Maccan*.—i. meicebecca atbalat pochetop in sanctitate post baptismum [little children who die immediately in holiness after baptism]. 41. *Sith*.—i. celum. 43. *Hillethu*.—i. hi pappinge [in expansion, or space].

Azarias, Misael, nomina eorum apud Ebreos. Et in igne misi sunt; quia noluerunt adorare formam Nabodonosor.”

30. *Ron nain*.—Quòd nos protegat.

32. *Nadleic*.—For na do léic: na, the negative relative, “who not;” do léic, now do leiḡ (from leiḡim, “I leave, or permit”). *Suum profetam*.—Here we have the following note: “.i. Danielelem, qui bis in Babylonia traditus est leonibus, et fuit cum eis in lacu leonum per ebdomadam plenam sine cibo.”

33. *Fbedes*.—Over this word is the following note: “Herodes Agrippa occidit Jacobum filium Zebedei, et tradidit Petrum iiii. quaternionibus in carcerem ad custodiendum, et liberavit eum Dominus per angelum suum.”—*Foeber*, now *faoider*, is the historical present of *faoidim*, *I send*.

36. *Robem*, and in l. 43, *robhem*, for co po be mn, i. e., ḡo po be rinn, that we may be: in modern Irish, ḡo paḡamar, ḡo paḡamud, or ḡo paib rinn.

37. *Ionas*.—We have here this note: “.i. Dolens, sive Columba, interpretatur; filius Amathi et viduæ quam suscitavit Helias quando hospitavit apud eam, fugiens Achab regem in tempore famis.”—See St. Jerome’s *Præfat. in Jonam*.

43. *Bethu*.—Here an entire line is omitted in the MS., without any mark of omission. In the margin there is a note which has been so injured by the plough of the binder, that it is very obscure. What remains is as follows:—“*Lechpand po, ḡ ipead apail in lechpand ail occaineḡ diatopacht . . . . atip . . . . den-ḡalup mapu lechpann cech ai oib do ponpat anuap. No ipead Cholman im-*



**R**eraig faithi cen dibad aingil apstail arð feḡad  
 tairset lī ar nathar nemda rīa sluaḡ ndemna diarsenad 4,  
 sen de

**b**endacht for erlam patraic connoebaib herennimme  
 bennacht forsin cathrigse ocus for each pīl mdo

**b**ennacht for erlam brigið con oḡaib herennimpe  
 tabraio huile cain forḡall bendacht for ordan brigte

Gloss.—44. *Reraig*.—i. ropiḡ, no pēpiḡ [great kings, or noble kings], i. qui fuerunt ante diluvium. *Cendibad*.—i. in pēna. *Ard feḡad*.—i. ip apb feḡad [it is a noble sight] angelorum et apostolorum. 45. *Tairset*.—i. huc usque cecinit Colman. 46. *For erlam*.—eplam, i. ēp ellam, i. abbul ellam fpi deanam pēpta ḡ mspbaile [Erlam, i.e. a ready champion, i.e. very ready to perform wonders and miracles]. *Patraic*.—i. pop in eplam ap Dapraic [on the patron who is Patrick]. 47. *Indi*.—i. mte [in it].

oppo aonup do pigne in immuno co huile ḡ popacaib in lechpann po appo ecomlanpaigdia mo checepnem ecomlanaigpe pe amolad pom; which may be translated: "This is a half stanza, and there is another, viz., the remaining half stanza, lamenting their coming . . . out of the land . . . on account of the plague, if it was half a stanza each of them made all along down. Or it was Colman alone who composed the whole hymn, and he left this half stanza, so that if God should leave him with the loss of his company, His praise should be left deficient by him." The meaning of this last clause seems to be, that if we suppose Colman alone to have composed the hymn, he may have left the stanza deficient designedly, intending to complete it by an expression of thankfulness or praise, if he and his company should escape the pestilence. But if God did not think fit to preserve them, then the intended praises of God must remain unsung. The for-

mer clause is very obscure, because defective. Perhaps the meaning may be, that as each of the scholars made half a stanza, one half stanza would necessarily be left deficient, if the number of scholars should be diminished [by the plague]. At all events it is evident that the defect is an original one, and was so regarded by the ancient scholiast, who has in this note given us his explanation of it.

45. *Sen De*.—These are the words with which the hymn begins, placed here as a sort of colophon, according to a custom already noticed at p. 23 above. The gloss here shows that this was understood by the scholiast to have been the end of the original Hymn, as it says "Huc usque cecinit Colman;" and indeed the remainder bears evident marks of having been added at a later age. See note on line 51, p. 136, *infra*.

50. *Columelle*.—The gloss on this line is an explanation of the reason why Colum received the appellation of Colum-

bendacht por columcille connoebaib alban alla  
por annain adamnán ain rola cain fors na clanna

50

for poesam riġ na ndula comairche nachan bera  
in spirit hoeb ronbroena criost ronsoera ronseha  
sen de

Opent ppo nobir pancti illi in celis, quorum memoriam facimur in terris, ut deleantur delicta nostra per invocationem pancti nominis tui ihū, ꝛ mipepere qui pegnar in pecula peculorum. Amen.

Gloss.—50. *Colum.*—i. collum ap a buiteēt dictus est [he is called Collum (Columba), from his harmlessness]. *Cille.*—i. quia frequenter veniebat ad ōapu . . . . . nchill, i. acelaig dubh glaire quia a . . . . . ad campum ppo ciuitate ueniet l . . . . epe et uicebant . . . . . expectem . . . . . [cil]le mbe dicetur [epc]. *Alban.*—i. ppi muir andar [by the sea on the east].

cille, or Colum of the Church. It is so obliterated, that nothing can be read with certainty, except the words above given, which suffice to show that the substance of the note was the same with that given in Irish by the annotator of the Feilire of Aengus (in the *Leabhar Breac*) at the 9th June, in these words:—Colum ppo pmplicitate eiur dicetur epc. Cille .i. ap thiachtam comenice on cill in po leg a palmu hi combail na lenab comocup. Baheab adbertippen etappu, in tanic ap Colum beeni on chill .i. o Thelaig Dubhglairi hi Tir Lugdach i Cinel Conaill. “He was called *Colum* (a dove), for his simplicity, and *Cille* (of

the Church), from his coming frequently from the church in which he read his Psalms, into the company of the neighbouring children; and they used to say then amongst themselves, ‘Has our little Colum come from the church’ (cill), i. e., from Tulach Dubhglaisse in Lugaidh’s territory in Cinel Conaill.” TulachDubhglaisse [now Templedouglass, near Kilmacrenan] was the name of the church in which St. Columcille was baptized.—O’Donnell, *Vit. S. Columbæ*, lib. i. c. 25 (apud Colgan, *Triad. Thaum.* p. 393).—See Adamnan’s *Life of St. Columba*, edited by Dr. Reeves, Append. to Preface, p. lxx., lxxi., notes <sup>t</sup> and <sup>u</sup>.

## ADDITIONAL NOTE.

### *Translation of the Scholiast's Preface and of the Hymn.*

THE following is a literal translation of the Preface, and of the foregoing Hymn :

Sen de. Colman, Mac Uí Cluasaigh, Reader of Cork, composed this Hymn, to protect himself from the *buidhechair* [yellow pestilence], which was [prevalent] in the reign of the sons of Aedh Slane<sup>a</sup>. For the people were very numerous in Erin at that time; and so great were their numbers, that the land could afford but thrice nine ridges to each man in Erin, viz., nine of bog, nine of field, and nine of wood; therefore the noblemen of Erin fasted along with the sons of Aedh Slane, with Fechin<sup>b</sup> of Fabhar, and with Aileran<sup>c</sup>, and with Manchán of Liath<sup>d</sup>, and with very many besides, for the reduction of the population, because of

<sup>a</sup> *The sons of Aedh Slane*.—Diarmaid and Blathmac, the sons of Aedh Slane, reigned conjointly from A. D. 658 to 664, in which last year they died of the great pestilence (*Four Masters. Keating. O'Flaherty*). On the history of this pestilence see Dr. O'Connor's note on the *Annals of Tighearnach, Rev. Hib. Script.* vol. ii. p. 204.

<sup>b</sup> *Fechin*.—Of Fabhar, or Fore, in the county of Westmeath. See his Life in Colgan, at 20th of Jan., *Actt. SS.*, p. 130.

<sup>c</sup> *Aileran*.—This word is somewhat obscure in the MS.; but I think I have correctly deciphered it. Aileran was of the celebrated school or University of Cluain-iraird, now Clonard, in the county of Meath, and was surnamed *Caghnairc*, or The Wise. Fleming, or his Editor, Sirinus, has published Aileran's "Interpretatio mystica progenitorum D. Jesu Christi," from a MS. in the Monastery of St. Gall: *Collectan. Sacr.* p. 182, sq.; and Colgan attributes to him the Life of Patrick, which stands fourth in his collection; *Trias Thaum.*, p. 35.

<sup>d</sup> *Manchán of Liath*.—The Annals of Tighearnach call him Bishop of Liath, now Liath-Manchain, or Lemanaghan, in the King's County; a place which was originally called Tuaim nEirc, or Ere's Tamulus (*Four Masters*, A. D. 645). The word Liath, (or Leigh, which is the genitive form of Liath), signifies gray, or boggy land. The following interesting mention of St. Manchán occurs in the Martyrology of Donegal at January 24:—*Manchán Ueth, mac Inbairge. Mella ann a mhaear 7 a deiri deirbhecar .i. Drella 7 Drellpech. Aed a eaglar barab anna iac Manchán, no iet Manchán, a nOcalbna mec Coelán. Aed a eari i n mbaile ceona i repin aed ar na cuibad go deirgairge le eláir don let arirg 7 ó ána don let amuir dberin ar na pionnab go po deirgairge.* "Manchán of Liath, the son of Indaigh [*filius Indaigh*, Colgan, *Actt. SS.*, p. 330, n. 6]. Mella was the name of his mother. His two sisters were Grella and Grellseach. His church, which is named Liath Man-

the scarcity of food, which was the consequence of their great numbers. And it was on that account that the *buidhechair* was sent upon them: so that the sons of Aedh Slane died of it in that year, also the learned men above mentioned, et alii multi.

Some say that it was Colman composed the whole of it. Other people say that he composed but two stanzas of it only, and that the school<sup>e</sup> made the rest, i. e., each man of them made each a half stanza.

It was composed in Cork, in the time of the two sons of Aedh Slane, viz., Blaithe and Diarmaid. And this was the occasion on which it was composed: a great plague that was sent upon the men of Erin, viz., the *buidhe connail* [or yellow plague], which pervaded all Erin, and left only one out of every three persons alive in Erin; and it was to save them [i. e., the survivors], with his own school, from that pestilence, that Colman composed this Hymn. And the place where he happened to compose it was in the course of his voyage to a certain island of the sea of Erin, flying abroad from this pestilence, until there were nine waves between him and the land, for the plague did not extend further, as the learned relate. And a certain man of the school of Colman asked what blessing there was for them, in search of which they had set out on that journey. Then Colman said, "What blessing dost thou need," said he, "but The blessing of God?" For what they desired was to go out upon the islands of the sea, to escape from the distemper.

THE blessing of God come upon us; may the Son of Mary cover us;  
May He protect us this night, wherever we go though great our numbers.

WHETHER at rest or in motion; whether sitting or standing;  
The King of Heaven be against every assault; this is the supplication that we offer up.

THE Prayer of Abel, son of Adam, of Heli and Enoch, be our help; 5  
May they free us from the sudden pestilence, whatsoever part of the world it threatens.

NOE, and Abraham; Isaac, the admirable son;  
May they come around us against the pestilence, that we come not to trouble.

chain, or Leith Manchain, is in Delbhna Mec Cochlain. His relics are in the same place, in a shrine that is beautifully ornamented, with boards in the inside, and bronze on the outside of them, and splendidly carved." This remarkable shrine still exists. It is preserved in the Roman Catholic chapel at Lemanachain, although the relics of the saint have long since disappeared from it. It is greatly mutilated; but enough remained to enable

Dr. Carte, of the Royal Dublin Society, to make a model of it in electrotpe, which was exhibited in the Antiquarian Department of the Dublin Exhibition in 1853. This beautiful model is now in the possession of John Lentaigne, Esq., of Dublin.

<sup>e</sup> *The school*—i. e. the school over which he presided, or his scholars. See note on line 43, *supra*.

<sup>f</sup> *The blessing of God*.—Alluding to the words with which the Hymn begins.



**I** BESEECII the father of thrice four persons, and Joseph the illustrious ;  
May their prayers to the noble King of many angels deliver us. 10

**M**AY Moses the good leader protect us, who protected in crossing the Red Sea ;  
Jesus ; Aaron son of Amra ; David the bold youth.

**J**OB, with his diseases, protect us against the poison :  
The prophets of the Lord guard us, with the seven sons of Maccabæus.

**J**OHAN the Baptist we name ; be he our covering, be he our protection : 15  
Jesus, with His Apostles, be our help against danger.

**M**ARY, Joseph, guard us, and the spirit of Stephen ;  
Out of every difficulty may it deliver us, to invoke the name of Ignatius.

**E**VERY Martyr, every Hermit, every Saint who was in chastity,  
Be a shield to us, for our defence ; be an arrow from us against demons. 20

**R**EGEM regum rogamus, in nostris sermonibus,  
Who saved Noe and his company, diluvii temporibus.

**M**ELCHISEDECH, rex Salem, incerto de semine,  
May his prayers deliver us ab omni formidine.

**T**HE Saviour who delivered Lot from the fire, qui per secula habetur, 25  
Ut nos omnes, precamur, liberare dignetur.

**A**BRAM from Ur of the Chaldees ; may the Lord who protected him protect us ;  
May He save us, who saved the people, when in want of lympha fontis.

**T**HE Lord, who delivered the three youths from the oven of red fire,  
Deliver us, as he delivered David de manu Goliæ. 30

9. *The father*.—"The father of thrice four," viz., Israel, the father of the twelve patriarchs.

10. *To the noble King*, i. e. their prayers addressed to the noble King.

18. *May it deliver us*, i. e. may the invocation of the name of Ignatius deliver us.

21. *In nostris*.—The Gloss on the original of this passage gives two interpretations of it—either "in our vernacular Scottish or Irish language," in *Scot-*

*ica lingua* ; or "in this our hymn," in *sermonibus hujus hymni*. As the original is here partly Irish and partly Latin, I have translated the Irish only, leaving the Latin lines as they stand in the text.

23. *Incerto*.—Alluding to Heb. vii. 3.

28. *Lympha fontis*.—Num. xx. 2, sq.

29. *Red fire*.—Literally, "from a furnace, or oven, of fire with redness: "Ceciderunt in medio camino ignis ardentis colligati."—Dan. iii. 23.

THE noble Sovereign of the brilliant heaven, may He have mercy on our misery :  
Who did not leave suum prophetam ulli leonum ori.

LIKE as He sent the Angel to deliver Peter from his chains ;  
So may He send to us for our relief : may He make smooth for us, whatsoever  
is not smooth.

TO our Lord we submit our will, nostro opere digno, 35  
That we may be with Him in eternal life, in Paradisi regno.

AS He delivered Jonas the prophet from the whale's belly—great deed,  
The good King grant us powerful protection; the blessing of God come upon us.

MAY it be true, O Lord, may it be true, that this prayer be granted ;  
That the children of God's kingdom may be around this School. 40

MAY it be true, O Lord, that it become true, that we all reach the peace of the King,  
That wherever we go, or arrive, we may reach the Kingdom of Heaven.

THAT we be without age, in endless space, with angels, in life eternal.  
\* \* \* \* \*

PATRIARCHS, Prophets, without fail, Angels, Apostles, glorious vision !  
Come they with our Heavenly Father ; against hosts of demons to bless us. 45  
SEN DE.

A BLESSING upon the Patron Patrick, with the saints of Erin around him :  
A blessing upon this city, and upon every one that is therein.

34. *Not smooth*.—Literally, "May every roughness [everything that is not smooth, cech n-am-petb] be made smooth before us."

37. *Whale's belly*.—Literally, "From the belly of the great animal," mfl, or mfol, m6p, is the name still given to a whale both in Ireland and in Scotland.

40. *Children of God's kingdom*, i. e. the angels. A different interpretation is given in the Gloss, viz. the spirits of children who die after baptism, before the commission of actual sin.

43. *Without age*, i. e. without growing old.—

*Endless space*: literally, in broadness, or expansion. hı [for ı. in] l6tchu, breadth, extent, glossed by բարրոցե, *space, expansion, room*.

44. *Glorious vision*.—Literally, "high-seeing," apb-peğab: which perhaps may mean that angels and apostles behold us from on high.

45. *Come*, i. e. may they come: տարբեւ is the 3rd person plural. *Protect us*.—Literally, "be for our blessing," or "protection," Ծար, now Ծ'ար, i. e. Ծօ ար, for our, բենաԾ, blessing.

46. *The Patron*.—The word translated *patron*

A BLESSING upon the Patron Brigid, with the virgins of Erin around her,  
Give ye all, without guile, a blessing upon the dignity of Brigid.

A BLESSING on Colum-cille, with the saints of Alba along with him, 50  
On the soul of the pure Adamnan, who put a law on the clans.

UPON the protection of the King of the Elements, a guardianship from which we  
cannot be taken,

May the Holy Ghost inspire us ; may Christ deliver us ; may He bless us.

SEN OE.

O RENT pro nobis sancti illi in cœlis, quorum memoriam facimus in terris, ut deleantur delicta nostra per invocationem sancti nominis tui Jesu, et miserere, qui regnas in secula seculorum. Amen.

<sup>i</sup>s eplam, which originally, perhaps, signified noble, but is now applied to the saint who is regarded as a patron. The verses which follow from line 46 to the end formed no part of the original Hymn, which ended at line 45, as is evident from the repetition of the first words, Sen oe, according to a practice that has been already noticed. See p. 23.

47. *This city*, i.e. this monastery: the place in which these additional verses were added. Thus the Annals of Ulster (A. D. 806) record the foundation of the Columbian monastery of Kells in these words: "Constructio novæ civitatis Columbæille in Ceninnus." It is in this sense the word is used in the Hymn of St. Mugint, vv. 2 and 5 (pp. 95, 96 *supra*), a fact which was overlooked when the note, p. 95, was written.

49. *Dignity*.—So the word oṛḃan is explained

in several ancient Glossaries. Oṛḃan .i. uapal ḡnað, "a noble degree, or dignity" (MS. H. 3, 8, p. 550, Trin. Coll. Dubl.) Oṛḃan .i. uapal ut eṛt ṛapṛuḡað oṛḃan .i. ṛapṛuḡað m uapail—"a noble person, as, to violate an *ordan*, is to violate (or insult) a noble person."—*O'Davoren, Gloss.*

50. *Along with him*.—Alle, now imaille.

51. *A law*.—Cain, a rule, precept, commandment, from *canon*. This is a remarkable allusion to the Cain Adamnain (canon, or code of laws drawn up by Adamnan), so frequently mentioned in the Annals and Brehon Laws ; and proves that these last four stanzas must have been added in or after the eighth century. For the *Cain Adamnani* was compiled A. D. 697, and Adamnan died A. D. 704. See Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, edited by Dr. Reeves, p. 178, and note <sup>b</sup>.

## VI. THE HYMN OF ST. CUCHUIMNE.

THE following Hymn has been published by Mone, in his *Hymni Latini Medii Ævi* (vol. ii. p. 383), from a collation of three MSS. The first is that preserved at Bâle, of which some account has already been given, p. 55, *supra*. The second is a MS. of the ninth century, in an Irish hand, now at Karlsruhe. The third is a MS. of the eighth century, according to Mone's judgment, also preserved at Karlsruhe, and written in a French hand. Both these Karlsruhe MSS. belonged formerly to the monastery of Reichenau.

The readings of these MSS. are given in the notes: those of the Bâle MS. are denoted by the letter B.; and those of the two Karlsruhe MSS. in the order in which they are spoken of above, by the letters K. and R. The MS. B. has been collated by the Editor himself; but the readings of K. and R. are given on the authority of Mone.

None of these MSS. have the introductory Scholium or Preface, which is now for the first time printed, from the Dublin *Liber Hymnorum*; but in the Codex R. we find the title "*Himnus Sanctæ Mariæ*."

How far we can depend upon Mone's judgment in the opinion he has given of the age of these MSS. seems doubtful; for he assigns the Bâle MS. to the eighth century, which is at least a century, if not two centuries, older than the true date, so far as the Greek Psalter is concerned: and he does not seem to have observed that the Hymn *Cantemus* has been written in a hand of about two centuries' later date. Those who are not accustomed to Irish MSS. are very naturally disposed to make them older than they really are, because the Irish scribes retained the old forms of handwriting much longer than Continental transcribers.

The Scholium prefixed to the Hymn identifies the author of it with the "Cuchuimne sapiens," who is said by our Annalists to have died early in the



eighth century ; and the age of the MSS. in which the Hymn has been found confirms the high antiquity thus ascribed to it. In the Additional Note B the Editor has collected all that he has been able to discover of the history of Cuchuimne.

The classical reader will not form a high idea of our author's skill in Latin prosody. The following anomalies may be taken as specimens :—*Cantēmus*, line 1 ; *Utēro*, line 8 ; *Extētīt*, line 10 ; *Humāne*, line 12 ; *Mulī-crem*, lines 13. 14 ; *Lorīcam*, line 21 ; *Pīræ*, *dīræ*, line 24.



CANTEMUS in omni die. Cuchumne fecit hunc s̄mnum do molab̄ Maire oge. In am̄p̄ir̄ moor̄po loinḡis̄ meicc Oengura 7 Adaminan factur̄ ert. Inceptum ert uero in quo loco eum fecit. Ire po chunn adenna dia roerab̄ ap̄ in d̄poch bea-chaib̄ ip̄ pabai. quia coniugem habuit, 7 in mala uita eum illa fuit. no commab̄ do peth̄gub̄ remi an eich na d̄pocha leir̄ dia legund̄ do d̄peth̄ immolab̄ra do Maire.

Ue Adaminan d̄ixit :

Cuchumne [Cuchumne], Ro lēḡ r̄uthe co d̄pumne,  
Alleth aile apata, Ro leic ap̄ a chaillecha.

Cuchumne d̄ixit :

Cuchumne [Cuchumne], Ro lēḡ r̄uthe co d̄pumne,  
Alleth aile apata, lēḡraib̄ leic̄p̄ib̄ caillecha.

Uel,

Alleth naile apadeu, lēḡraib̄ huile conop̄ fui.

Ure r̄ithim̄ dan̄ fecit. 7 xii. coib̄eil̄ ann, 7 da line in cech̄ coib̄eil̄, 7 xii. r̄illabā ceth̄ line.



CANTEMUS in omni die CONCINENTES uarie  
CONCLAMANTES deo dignum s̄mnum sanctae mariae  
bis per chorum hinc et inde collaudemus mariam  
ut uox pulset omnem aurem per laudem uicariam  
maria de tribu iudae summi mater domini  
oportunam dedit curam egrotanti homini

GLOSS.—1. *Varie*.—i. inter duos choros. 2. *Mariae*.—Maria stilla maris interpretatur; et significat æclesiam inventam in amaritudine seculi.

1. *Concinentes*.—Concinantes, B. Con-  
cinnantes variæ, B. R.

2. *Mariae*.—See the note, p. 126, *supra*.

3. *Chorum*.—Corum, B. The ancient  
custom of alternate singing is here alluded

to. 4. *Collaudemus*.—Collaudamus, B.  
Conlaudamus, K. Conlaudemus, R.

5. *Judæ*.—Juda, B. *Summi*.—Summa,  
B. R.

6. *Egrotanti*.—This seems an allusion

**Δ**abriel aduexit uerbum sinu patris paterno  
quod conceptum et susceptum in utero materno

**h**aec est summa haec est sancta uirgo uenerabilis  
quae ex fide non recessit sed exstetit stabilis 10

**h**uic matri nec inuenta ante nec post similis  
nec de prole fuit plane humanae originis

**p**er mulierem et lignum mundus prius perijt  
per mulieris uirtutem ad salutem redijt

**m**aria mater miranda patrem suum edidit 15  
per quem aqua late lotus totus mundus credidit

**h**aec concepit margaretam non sunt uana somnia  
pro qua sani cristiani uendunt sua omnia

GLOSS.—7. *Verbum*.—i. annuntiationem uerbi, .i. ave maria plena gratia. 8. *Conceptum*.—i. diuina operante potentia credentis viscera fecundantur. 13. *Lignum*.—i. prevaricationis. 15. *Patrem*.—i. omnium creator de creatura sua procreatur. Fons uitæ de riualo suo oritur. Uitis uera de uirgultu suo nascitur, et in ligno mortali arbor uitæ inseritur, et porta . . . . in se uirtus ab infirmis portatur. 17. *Margaretam*.—i. Christum.

to some legend, unless we take *homini* to signify mankind in general.

7. *Patris*.—Prius, B. R. An obvious error. *Paterno*.—Paternæ, R.

8. *Utero*.—The second syllable is here long.

9. *Quæ*.—Hæc fide, R.

10. *Extetit*.—The second syllable is long.

11. *Huic*.—This word is here a dissyllable. *Matri*.—Matre, R. *Inuenta*.—Inuentam, R.

12. *Prole*.—Flore, R. *Plane*.—Plana, R. *Humane originis*.—This appears strange language, not very consistent with the doctrine of the Incarnation, if we are to take the words in their literal meaning—that the Blessed Virgin was not of mere

human nature (*plane*). The preceding line is not unlike the words of St. Anselm, quoted by Mone: “Nihil est æquale Mariæ, nihil nisi Deus majus Maria.”—*Opp. S. Anselmi, Orat.* 51. [*Ed. Bened. Paris.* 1721, p. 281, col. 1. E.]

15. *Maria*.—This stanza, vv. 15, 16, is omitted by B. *Patrem suum*.—So in the Hymn beginning *Dies læta celebratur* (Daniel. *Thesaur. Hymnol.*, vol. ii. p. 212) there is the same idea:—

“Nova prorsus genitura  
Creatorem creatura  
Patrem parit filia.”

16. *Lotus*.—Lota, R.

17. *Margaretam*.—Margaritam, B. *Hæc*.—Quæ, R. Mone erroneously gives *Quæ* as the reading of B.

**T**ONICAM PER TOTUM TEXTAM CRISTI MATER FECERAT  
QUAE PERACTA CRISTI MORTE SORTE STATIM STETERAT

20

**I**N DUAMUS ARMA LUCIS LORICAM ET GALEAM  
UT SIMUS DEO PREFECTI SUSCEPTI PER MARIAM

**A**MEN AMEN ADIURAMUS MERITA PUERPERAE  
UT NON POSSIT FLAMMA PIRAE NOS DIRAE DECEPERE

Gloss.—19. *Tonicam*.—Cοιρτιυρ ηιναιρ ιμλιβαρ [a suitable, long tunic]. *Totum*.—i. corpus. *Textam*.—i. cen uam ανθ επιρ [without any seam in it at all]. 20. *Sorte*.—i. sine partitione. 21. *Loricam*.—Lorica dicta eo quod loris caret. 23. *Amen*.—i. vere, vel fideliter. *Puerperæ*.—i. puerum pariens in ætate pueri, id est in decimo vel in xi. 24. *Piræ*.—i. e. ιν ναβριαθ ηιρanna [the ugly torch].

19. *Tonicam*.—Tunicam, K. Matt. Paris. *Hist. Angl.* p. 80, mentions this tradition: "A. D. M.C.LVI. in pago Parisiacensi, monasterio Argentoillo, revelatione divina, tunica Salvatoris inconsutilis et subconfusci coloris reperta est, quam sicut literæ cum ea repertæ indicabant, gloriosa Mater ejus fecerat ei dum adhuc puer esset." Other authorities tell us that it was found in a village called Zaphah, not far from Jerusalem, A. D. 593, in the time of Pope Gregory I. See Jo. Iperii *Chron. S. Bertini*, part iii. (ap. Martene et Durand. *Thes. Anecd.* tom. iii. 451 E.), and *Brevia aliquot Chronica* (*ibid.* 1391. C.). But these Chronicles make no mention of any letters found with it, or of its having been wrought by the hands of the B. Virgin. Neither is that tradition mentioned by Adamnan in his Tract *De locis sanctis*; but it is adopted by Baronius (*Annal.* A. D. 34, n. cxii.), Benedict XIV. (*De Festis Domini*, I. vii. 91. *Opp.* tom. ix. p. 82), and many other theologians. The earliest writer quoted for this tradition is Euthymius Zygabenus, who says: "Hanc

vero tunicam e traditione patrum accepimus opus fuisse Dei Matris a superioribus partibus contextam, veluti sunt apud nos capitis aut pedum hyemalia operimenta."—*Comment. in Quat. Evang.* in Matt. xxvii. 35 (*Bibl. Patr. Lugdun.*, tom. xix. p. 588, E.). This author flourished at the beginning of the twelfth century; so that the present Hymn is a much older authority. *Totum*.—Totam, B. *Christi*.—Christo, K.

21. *Loricam*.—Luricam, B. Lurica, R. *Et galeam*.—Vicariæ, R.

22. *Prefecti*.—Perfecti, B.

23. *Adiuramus*.—Adoramus, K. Adoremus, R. In R. the last two stanzas are reduced to one; thus:

"Amen, amen, adoremus, angelis sub testibus,  
Ut fruamur et scribamur litteris cælestibus;"

the intervening clauses being omitted. *Puerperæ*.—The gloss on this word seems to allude to the legend in the *Evangelium de Nativ. Mariæ*, the *Protevangeliolum Jacobi*, &c., that Mary was dedicated to God at three years of age, and lived in the temple until ten or eleven years old.



**X**p̄i nomen inuocemus angelis sub testibus  
ut prouamur et scribamur literis celestibus.

25

cantemus.

Sanctae Mariae meritum imploremur dignissimum  
ut meriamur polium habitare altissimum.

GLOSS.—26. *Literis*.—i. in memoria Dei.

24. *Decepere*.—Deccerpere, B.

26. *Scribamur*.—*Scribamur*, B. The gloss on this verse intimates, that to be written "*litteris celestibus*" signifies that we are written in the memory of God.

27. *Sanctæ Mariæ*.—It is evident that in these lines (omitted in R. and K.) there is a rude rhythm, or assonance, and each line consists of eight syllables :—

“Sanctæ Mariæ meritum  
Imploramus dignissimum,  
Ut mereamur solium,  
Habitare [Habere, B.] altissimum.”

In the Bâle MS. we find here the fol-

lowing Collect, in the later handwriting:—

“Singularis meriti, sola sine exemplo, Mater et Virgo Maria, quam Deus ita mente et corpore custodivit, ut digna existes ex qua sibi nostræ redemptionis pretium Dei Filius corpus adaptaret; obsecro te misericordissima per quam totus salvatur mundus, intercede pro me spurcissimo, et cunctis iniquitatibus foedo, ut qui ex meis iniquitatibus nil aliud dignus sum quam æternum subire supplicium, tuis Virgo spendidissima salvatus meritis perenne consequar regnum.”

## ADDITIONAL NOTES.

### NOTE A.

#### *The Scholiast's Preface.*

THE following is a translation of the Scholium or Preface to this Hymn, which is in the usual mixture of Irish and Latin :—

*Cantemus in omni die.*—Cuchaimne composed this Hymn in praise of the Virgin Mary. Now it was in the time of Loingsech, son of Oengus<sup>a</sup>, and of Adamnan, it was composed. It is uncertain, however, in what place he composed it. This was the reason why he composed it, to deliver himself from the evil life he was leading, quia conjugem<sup>b</sup> habuit, et in mala vita cum illa fuit. Or it was to facilitate his progress in what he had not yet completed of his studies, that he made this praise of Mary. As Adamnan said :—

Cuchaimne, [Cuehnimne'],  
Read learned writings half way<sup>c</sup>.  
The other half of his career  
He abandoned for his women.

<sup>a</sup> *Loingsech, son of Oengus.*—He was king of Ireland, according to O'Flaherty's Chronology, from A. D. 695 to 704, and was killed in the battle of Corann, county of Sligo, in this latter year. Dr. O'Connor's Tighernach gives 703 as the date of this battle, which, however, ought to be 704, for he adds :—"iv. id. Julii, vi. hora diei Sabbati hoc bellum confectum est." In 704, the 4th of the Ides of July fell on Saturday; in 703 on Thursday: therefore it is evident that Tighernach intended the year 704. The Four Masters give the date 701, which is irreconcilable with the day of the week on which Tighernach (doubtless from some ancient authority) tells us the battle was fought. Adamnan died the same year, 704. Ussher, *Index Chron.*

<sup>b</sup> *Conjugem.*—Meaning, it is to be presumed, *Concubinam.* *Vid.* Adamnan, *Vit. S. Col.* (ed. Reeves), pp. 75-77.

<sup>c</sup> *Cuchaimne.*—In the original this word occurs but once; but it was evidently intended to be repeated, as the metre requires; see page 82, *supra*, note <sup>c</sup>. Dr. O'Donovan overlooked this when he printed these verses in his edition of the Four Masters, A. D. 742.

<sup>d</sup> *Halfway.*—Co dhruimne is literally "to the ridge," i. e. to the top or ridge of a hill, which is half way across. The meaning is, that Cuchaimne spent one-half of his time in the study of learned authors, or that he had perused one-half of the learned writers, when he abandoned himself to an irregular life.

Cuchimne said [in reply]—

Cuchimne [Cuchimne],  
Read learned writings half way.  
The other half of his career<sup>e</sup>  
He will read,—he will abandon<sup>f</sup> women.

Or,

The other half of his career—  
He will read them all until he becomes a sage.

He composed it in rhythm; and there are thirteen chapters in it; and two lines in each chapter; and twelve syllables in each line.

The verses, here attributed to Adamnan, are transcribed in a hand of the fourteenth century, in the margin of the Dublin MS. of the *Annals of Ulster*, at A. D. 746; but are there attributed, not to Adamnan, but to the *Nurse* of Cuchimne: they are given thus:—

Muine Con-cuimne cecimic:—

Cucumne [Cuchimne],  
Ro leḡ fuiti co ḡpumne,  
Alleth naill hapaḡa  
Ro leici ari cailleḡa.

An do Concuimne pombol,  
Impualaid de conib roí,  
Ro leic caillecha ha faill  
Ro leig aluill apith mboí.

The Nurse of Cuchimne sang:—

Cuchimne! [Cuchimne!]  
He read learned writings half way;  
The other half of his career  
He abandoned for women.

Happy is it for Cuchimne,  
He has gone forward until he has become a sage;  
He has abandoned women to neglect;  
He has read the other half of his victorious life.

This seems to be a more ancient form of this curious distich than either of the two texts of it which are given above, or than that of the *Four Masters*, at A. D. 742, which is as follows, with Dr. O'Donovan's translation (the metrical arrangement being corrected to correspond with the above):—

<sup>e</sup> *Career*.—The word *paḡa* may be the genitive case of *paḡ*, prosperity, increase, progress, advancement; but Dr. O'Donovan has rendered it "career" (*Four Mast.* A. D. 742), taking it to be *paḡa* running, racing;—course, career.

<sup>f</sup> *He will abandon*.—The play upon the words *po leḡ* "he read," and *po leic*, "he abandoned," is evidently the point of the first stanza; and so in

Cuchimne's answer there is a play upon *po leḡ*, "he read," *leḡfaid*, "he will read," and *leigfaid*, "he will leave, dismiss, or abandon." It is not to be supposed that these verses can be really the composition of Adamnan; and accordingly the Dublin MS. of the *Annals of Ulster* attributes them, not to Adamnan, but to Cuchimne's nurse; showing that he was not known with certainty to be the author.

Cucumne, [Cucumne],  
 Ro leḡ fúithe co bpuimne,  
 Alleth aile appatha,  
 Ro lecc ap a chaillecha.

Cuchuimne, [Cuchuimne],  
 Read the authors half through;  
 The other half of his career  
 He abandoned for his hags.

Priṛceap Cucumne:—

Cucumne, [Cucumne],  
 Ro léiḡ fúithe co bpuimne,  
 Alleth aile apab cui,  
 Leḡpab huile corop fui.

Cuchuimne replied:—

Cuchuimne, [Cuchuimne],  
 Read the authors half through;  
 During the other half of his career  
 He will read till he become an adept.

The meaning, however, in all these readings of the couplet is the same: that Cuchuimne, after spending some years in scholar-like study, was seduced into a life of profligacy; but that he at length, on the remonstrance of his friends, abandoned his vices, and resumed with zeal, for the remainder of his life, the studies becoming an ecclesiastic.

The reader will not fail to remark, that there is great internal evidence of truth in this record of the weakness of Cuchuimne. No mere inventor of legends would have narrated such an event in the life of a writer whom he was quoting as the author of a religious Hymn. See the remarks already made on this subject, p. 92, *supra*.

## NOTE B.

### History of Cuchuimne.

THE information given us in the Preface, or Scholium, prefixed to the Hymn, and translated in the foregoing note, contains nearly all the information we possess respecting Cuchuimne. He is there said to have lived in the reign of Loingseach Mac Aengusa (who was King of Ireland, A. D. 695 to 703), and appears to have survived that monarch some years. The *Annals of Ulster* record his death at the year 746, in these words: "Cu-cumine" [read *Cucumne*, as in the Dublin MS.] "sapiens obiit." Tighernaech [Dublin MS.] seems to have made the year 747, and gives the obit thus: "Cuimine sapiens obiit." The Four Masters give the date 742, and translate, apparently from the Ulster Annals, thus:—

Cucumne<sup>a</sup> eccnaib toḡaib eipibe do ecc. "Cuchuimne, he was a choice sage, died."

They then quote the same verses which are given by the Scholiast of the Book of Hymns, attributing them, as that Book does, to Adamnan.

<sup>a</sup> *Cucumne*.—*Cucumne* is the reading in Dr. O'Donovan's text, but it seems to be an error of the press; for the MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, reads *Cucumne*.



From these verses (see Note A), it appears that Cuchuimne for a time had led an irregular life, "quia conjugem habuit, et in mala vita cum illa fuit." But during the latter part of his life he repented, and the present Hymn may be received as an evidence that his thoughts were sincerely occupied in holy things. His name does not occur in any of the Irish Calendars or Martyrologies, notwithstanding which, Colgan does not hesitate to give him the title of *saint*.

The name Cu-chuimne [signifying *Hound of Memory*<sup>b</sup>] is not of frequent occurrence in Irish Church history, although Cummine, Cummeni, Cummain, which are, perhaps, forms of the same name, are more frequent. Colgan<sup>c</sup> has given the following account of the author of this Hymn:—"Sanctus Cuchumneus (qui, addito *Mo* more Hibernis familiari, potuit *Mochumneus* appellari), floruit juste tempore Sancti Aidi Sleptensis, anno 698 mortui. Hic enim in laudem Deiparæ Virginis composuit Hymnum, penes me extantem, qui incipit;

<sup>a</sup> *Cantemus in omni die, concinnantes variè,  
Conclamantes Deo dignum hymnum S. Mariæ.*

Et ut colligitur ex argumento eidem Hymno præfixo, author floruit tempore Adamnani Abbatis, et Longseæ Hiberniæ Regis, qui cœpit regnare anno 694. Vixit tamen postea usque ad annum 746, quo Annales Ultonienses referunt *Cuchumneum Sapientem* obiisse; vel saltem usque ad annum 724 [read 742], in quem ejus mortem referunt Quatuor Magistri in Annalibus."—*Tr. Thaum.*, p. 218, b. This, however, the reader will perceive, gives us no information beyond what we have already gleaned from the authorities cited above: and Colgan has suppressed all mention of Cuchuimne's irregular life, although he declares him to have been contemporary with Adamnan, to whom the verses rebuking that irregularity are, in the Book of Hymns, ascribed. He must, therefore, have seen those verses.

#### NOTE C.

##### *Maria Stilla Maris.*

THE Gloss on the name *Maria* (ver. 2, p. 139, *supra*, and also in the preceding Hymn, ver. 17, p. 126), interprets the name as signifying in Hebrew "*Stilla maris*," from *מר*, a drop, and *ים*, the sea. See above, p. 126, note.

<sup>b</sup> *Hound of Memory*.—"Hound" was an honourable title amongst the ancient Irish. The name may perhaps be equivalent to the mediæval name *Memorius*, or *Memorianus*.

<sup>c</sup> *Colgan*.—Harris (Ware's *Writers of Ireland*, p. 46) has mistaken this passage of Colgan. Colgan does not identify *Mocuthenius* with the author of this Hymn, nor does he say "that Ussher had

mistaken the name." He was speaking of the *Maccuthenius*, or *Mochucunneus*, who is said to have written *Acts of St. Patrick*; and he says that, allowing for the Irish custom of prefixing *Mo*, my, to the names of saints, there are two or three saints whose names are mentioned in Irish history (of whom our author is one), any one of whom may have been the biographer of St. Patrick.

Nothing is more common in the orthography of Irish MSS. of the eighth and following centuries, than to find *e* for *i*, as *aneella*, for *ancilla*; *antestes*, for *antistes*, &c.; and also *i* for *e*, as *adoliscens*, *bibliothica*, &c. (see Reeves' *Pref. to Adamnan's Life of Columba*, pp. xvi. xvii.) And in the present case it seems almost certain that the ancient authors who devised this etymology for the Hebrew proper name *Miriam*, (which was Latinized *Maria*), intended *Stilla maris*, "a drop of the sea," and not *stella*, "a star of the sea;" the former having some foundation in Hebrew, the latter none. And the common confusion in the orthography of the period, together with the general ignorance of Hebrew, has led to the popular adoption of the more poetical designation of "star," instead of "drop," of the sea. Modern writers, although they very generally explain this allusion to *the sea*, as if *Maria* was derived from the Latin *Mare*, by a further confusion, leave *stella* unexplained. See Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnol.*, tom. i. p. 205. There can be little doubt, therefore, that St. Jerome, when he interprets *Miriam*, "Stella maris" (see the passage quoted above, p. 126), wrote and meant *stilla*, "a drop of the sea," and that *stella* is a mistake of his transcribers or editors. Nevertheless, this error has prevailed, and is adopted in many ecclesiastical hymns in use at the present day; e. g. in the celebrated one—"Ave maris stella, Dei Mater alma," which is still retained in the Roman Breviary. And so also in the Hymn beginning—"Salve Mater Salvatoris" (Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnol.*, tom. ii. p. 83) we have the lines—

"O Maria, stella maris, Dignitate singularis,  
Super omnes ordinis, Ordines cœlestium."

And the same interpretation is given to the name by almost all mediæval writers, of whom it may suffice to quote St. Bernard (in Homil. ii. super *Missus est*, n. 17)—"Lo-quamur pauca" (he says) "super hoc nomine, quod interpretatum *Maris stella* dicitur, et Matri Virgini valde convenienter aptatur. Ipsa namque aptissime sideri comparatur," &c.—*Opp. Ed. Bened.*, iii. p. 742.

Nevertheless, the word *stilla* was known to these writers as signifying "a drop," which is evident from the Hymn beginning "O felicem genitricem" (Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnol.*, ii. p. 205), in which these lines occur:—

"O mamilla cujus stilla fuit ejus pabulum,  
Qui dat terræ fructum ferre, pascit omne sæculum."

It may be observed, that in the interpretations of proper names given in the ancient Irish Gospels called the Book of Kells and the Book of Durrow, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, *Maria* is explained *stilla* (not *stella*) maris. We have, likewise, "*Maria stilla maris*," *Book of Armagh*, fol. 32, aa. See also line 14 of the following Hymn, where we read, "Tunc magi *stellam* secuti," showing that the scribe of the Book of Hymns did not confound *stilla* and *stella*.

## VII. THE HYMN OF ST. HILARY IN PRAISE OF CHRIST.

THIS Hymn was first published by George Cassander, who says that he found it in an ancient volume which contained the rule of St. Benedict, and several Hymns<sup>1</sup>. He notes it "incerto auctore."

It occurs also in the *Antiphonarium Benchorense*, and has been printed by Muratori<sup>2</sup> from that MS.

It has also been reprinted recently, from the text of Cassander, by Daniel, in his *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, vol. i. p. 191.

In the Bangor Antiphonary this Hymn stands first, with the title "*Hymnum*<sup>3</sup> *S. Hilarii de Christo*."

The Preface in the Book of Hymns, now for the first time published, expressly names St. Hilary of *Poitiers*, and the authority of these two ancient MSS. is sufficient to prove that the tradition of the Irish Church attributed the authorship of the Hymn to that prelate.

Bede<sup>4</sup> quotes this Hymn in his Tract *De arte metrica* (cap. 23), and gives the first two lines as an example of the "Metrum Trochaicum tetrametrum;" he ascribes it to no author, but simply styles it "*Hymnus ille pulcherrimus*," as if it was then well known.

If the Hymn had been the composition of so celebrated a personage as

<sup>1</sup> "*Hymns*.—Repertum in vetustissimo libro Benedicti regulam cum hymnis continente, unde et plerosque alios desumpsimus."—*Hymni Ecclesiast.* (*Opp.*, Paris, 1616 fol.) p. 186.

<sup>2</sup> *Muratori*.—See above, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Hymnum*.—Muratori, in his transcript of the Bangor MS., gives *Hymnum* throughout as a neuter nominative. This, no doubt, is a

mistake, arising from his not understanding the contraction "*Hymn3*," which is *Hymnus*. His want of familiarity with Irish MSS. has led him into several similar errors, and there is reason to think that he has altered the ancient original spelling of the MS. to bring it into conformity with the received orthography.

<sup>4</sup> *Bede*.—See Additional Note at the end of this Hymn.

Hilary of Poitiers, it is not likely that Bede could have been ignorant of the fact, or, knowing it, that he would have omitted to name the author, inasmuch as he gives frequently the names of the authors of the hymns he quotes, such as Sedulius, Prudentius, St. Ambrose, Paulinus, &c., many of them obscure, when compared with St. Hilary of Poitiers.

It is to be observed, also, that the Hymn seems to contain allusions to a monastic society, and if so, cannot have been the composition of an author who lived before the institution of the cœnobitic life in the Western Church. For instance, the first line, "Hymnum dicat *turba fratrum*;" line 65, "Ante lucem *turba fratrum* concinemus gloriam;" and line 71, "Ante lucem decantantes."

It may be said that "*turba fratrum*" does not necessarily imply a society of "friars," in the modern sense of the word. For in the Hymn<sup>1</sup> "*Lauda Syon Salvatorem*," attributed to St. Thomas Aquinas, we have the lines:—

"Quem in sacræ mensa cœnæ  
Turbæ fratrum duodenæ  
Datum non ambigitur."

where *Turbæ fratrum* evidently signify the twelve Apostles; but St. Thomas may have adopted the phraseology of a later age, wherein the Apostles were not unfrequently spoken of as a sort of monastic confraternity; and the passages of the present Hymn, above referred to, plainly speak of a *Turba fratrum* living together, and rising before the dawn, to sing together the praises of God, in evident allusion to a monastic society.

On the other hand, the fourth Council of Toledo<sup>2</sup> (A.D. 633) speaks of hymns at that time in use in the Church, "quos beati Doctores Hilarius et Ambrosius ediderunt;" so that there were hymns<sup>3</sup> then attributed to, or

<sup>1</sup> *Hymn*.—Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnologic.*, vol. ii. p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> *Toledo*.—Can. 13 (Hardouin, *Concil.*, tom. iii. 583 D).

<sup>3</sup> *Hymns*.—It would seem that there was then a feeling in the Spanish Church not unlike that of the modern English Puritans; for the canon of the Council of Toledo here referred to is directed against some who objected to use in the Church service hymns

which were not to be found in the Scriptures, nor of apostolic tradition: "quos [hymnos] tamen quidem specialiter reprobant, pro eo quod de Scripturis sanctorum canonum, vel apostolica traditione non existunt." The Council answers, that the same objection would apply to the prayers, collects, and the whole liturgy of the Church, and therefore concludes, "excommunicatione plectendi qui hymnos rejicere fuerint ausi."—*ubi supra*.



known to be the composition of St. Hilary,<sup>1</sup> which are no longer known as such; and St. Jerome expressly mentions a *Liber Hymnorum*, by St. Hilary, as extant in his time<sup>2</sup>. This, however, would only render it more probable that a hymn, whose author was unknown, should be attributed to an author who was known to have composed hymns, and whose name stood high in the Church. There is, therefore, in the fact that St. Hilary wrote hymns, nothing to weaken the force of the arguments above alluded to; especially when we observe that the style of the present Hymn is rude and unpolished, and in no way similar to that of St. Hilary's acknowledged writings<sup>3</sup>.

The Legend recorded in the Scholiast's Preface<sup>4</sup> seems to connect the Hymn with Hilary of Arles, who flourished in the middle of the fifth century, rather than with Hilary of Poitiers. For in his time the monastic life had begun in the West, and he is said to have crossed the Alps on foot, in order to plead his cause before Pope Leo<sup>5</sup>.

Be this, however, as it may, it is not to be doubted that the present Hymn is a composition of great antiquity. Its doctrine is throughout in accordance with that of the primitive Church, and its language and diction are consistent with an early date. It may probably be assigned to the fifth or sixth century.

<sup>1</sup> *S. Hilary*.—Isidore, Bishop of Seville, tells us that St. Hilary, of Poitiers, was the first Christian author of hymns: "Sunt autem Divini Hymni, sunt et ingenio humano compositi. Hilarius, autem, Gallus, Episcopus Pictaviensis, eloquentia conspicuus, carmine floruit primus. Post quem Ambrosius Episcopus, vir magnæ gloriæ in Christo, et in ecclesia clarissimus doctor," &c.—Isidor. Hispal., *De Officiis*, l. c. 6, n. 2 (*Opp.* ed. Arevalo, tom. vi. p. 369. Romæ, 1802).

<sup>2</sup> *In his time*.—*De viris illustr.*, c. 100 (*Opp.*

tom. ii. ed. Vallarsii).

<sup>3</sup> *Writings*.—This seems to have been Muratori's opinion, for in his preface to the *Antiphonarium Benchorense* he says: "At in Hymno nunc a nobis producto majorem fortasse elegantiam desiderabunt nonnulli, ut eum S. Hilario adscribant."—*Opere* (Arezzo, 1770), tom. xi. part 3, p. 222.

<sup>4</sup> *Preface*.—See p. 162, *infra*.

<sup>5</sup> *Pope Leo*.—See Tillemont, *Mémoires*, tom. xv. p. 72 (*Vie de S. Hilaire*, art. 15), and the authorities there quoted.





ΣΜΝUM DICAT. hilariur Epiriscopur 7 princep civitatir que dicitur Pictaur  
 pecit hunc Σμnum Chpicto in monte Garzani, iap comait na prianne illic  
 itegdar inb latrand. Ocur iap na elugud buide do Dia po chinrat in meis  
 blcthai port conarbat mo quam infanter. amal tarrapprem do facurp doi occo.  
 Tamic aingel 7 arberp friu. niri penitentiam egeritir in infernum ibitir.  
 egerunt ergo penitentiam 7 debet Deur indulgentiam eip per irtam laudem.  
 pic nobir conuenit canere port prianbium.

Alterp, locur .i. ppecur in pectore montir iouir inter Alper in qua philophi [sic] antea  
 puerunt. Tempur, Valentiam 7 Valentir. Peppona hilariur. Caupa .i. Angelur  
 portulauit quando uenit ad Supannam urbem cum episcopis uirp .i. .c. de  
 clericis, 7 .cc. de laicis. Unur uero de clericis mortuur est pro frigore hiemir,  
 7 hilariur opauit pro suo monacho. illa autem nocte angelur dixit ad eum,  
 debet te reputari scripturap 7 Σμnum facere Deo. Ille autem pecit iuxta  
 imperium angeli, 7 mortuum surrexit per gratiam Dei.

Metrum troiachum tetrametrum est. hic pcepit ppondeum omnibur locis, praeter  
 tertium locum, 7 trochia omnibur locis. in quo aliquando tertio loco prius  
 uerbuli ppondeum peperier. ut factor celi 7 terrae factor. 7 uerbis  
 purgat lepra morbum. Currit autem alterius uerbis ita ut prius uerbuli  
 habeat pedes .iiii. porterior uero .iii. 7 syllabam.

Σμnur Dnece, laur interppretatur Latine, uel Σμnur memoria dicitur, pcut in  
 ppaterno Dnece Σμnur tertmon. hoc est memor fuit porteri. 7 ip do molat De  
 in canriud ar bpi Σμnur 7 ip portbinnur eanar ut Agurtinur dicit ip na deccabib.  
 Σμnur prium Dauid priopeta in laudem Dei comporuipe manifestum  
 est.

ΜΝUM dicat turba fratrum Σμnum cantus personet  
 christo regi concinentes laudem demus debitam

Gloss.—1. *Hymnum*.—i. laudem. *Fratrum*.—i. in Christo. *Cantus*.—i. nominati-  
 uus. 2. *Concinentes*.—i. a verbo concino .i. a comchanam [we sing together]. *Demus*.—  
 .i. laudes demus debitas.

1. *Ymnum dicat*.—For a trans-  
 lation of the Preface, see Addi-  
 tional Note, p. 162. The various readings  
 of the Antiphonarium Benchorensis have  
 been marked B. in the following notes :

those of Cassander, C. *Fratrum*.—Fide-  
 lium, B., which does not suit the metre.  
 Bede reads *Fratrum*. See Addit. Note.

2. *Concinentes*.—Concinnentur, B., an  
 evident mistake. *Laudem*.—Laudes, B. C.



**T**u dei de corde uerbum tu uia tu ueritas  
iesse uirga tu uocaris te leonem legimus.

**D**extra patris mons et agnus angularis tu lapis,  
sponsus idem el columba flamma pastor ianua.

**I**n prophetis inueniris nostro natus saeculo  
ante saecula tu fuisti factor primi saeculi

**F**actor caeli et terrae factor congregator tu maris  
omniumque tu creator quae pater nasci iubet

**U**irginis receptus membris gabrielis nuntio  
crescit albus prole sancta nos monemur credere

**R**em nouam nec ante uisam uirgine puerpera  
tunc magi stellam secuti primi adorant paruulum

Gloss.—3. *De corde*.—i. de secreto Diuinitatis. *Verbum*.—i. filius. *Via*.—Ut dicitur Ego sum uia et ueritas et uita; et iterum Nemo uenit ad patrem nisi per me. 4. *Jesse*.—i. genitus. *Virga*.—Ut dicitur Exeat uirga de radice iesse. *Leonem*.—Ut dicitur Vicit leo de tribu iuda. 5. *Dextra*.—i. uita eterna. *Mons*.—Ut dicitur Erit in novissimis diebus praeparatus mons. *Agnus*.—i. Ecce agnus Dei qui tollit peccatum mundi. *Lapis*.—i. Lapidem quem reproba[uerunt . . . . .] 6. *Sponsus*.—i. sicut sponsus procedens de thalamio suo . . . . . *El*.—i. Deus. *Columba*.—Ut dicitur, Sponsa mea, columba mea. *Pastor*.—i. Ego sum pastor bonus, et iterum, Ego sum ianua per me si quis intraverit saluabitur. 7. *Nostro*.—i. in nouo testamento. *Saecula*.—i. ante omnia saecula. 8. *Fuisti*.—i. per te ipsum qui es sine initio et sine fine. *Primi saeculi*.—i. mundi creatio in principio, secundum saeculum quando reformabitur in fine saeculi, aliter primum saeculum creatio Adae in principio mundi, secundum saeculum formatio hominis per Christum. 10. *Omniumque*.—i. creatorum; ut dicit Johannes Omnia per ipsum facta sunt. *Iubet*.—i. fiat lux et facta est lux. 11. *Gabrielis*.—i. ave Maria gratia plena, ecce concipies et paries filium et uocabis nomen eius Iesum. 12. *Albus*.—i. Mariae. 13. *Puerpera*.—i. puerum prius parens, vel in aetate pueri parens Christum, i. in x<sup>o</sup>. vel in xii<sup>o</sup>. anno. 14. *Magi*.—i. quasi magis gnari, qui philosophantur in omni re; ut est, Ecce magi ab oriente uenerunt Hier . . . . .

The remainder of this line, the last six words of line 3, and the whole of line 4, are wanting in B., from a defect in the MS. *Debitum*.—Debitas, B. C.

5. *Dextra*.—In the margin is the following note:—"Dextra Dei dicitur quia sicut facit aliquis omnia quae uult per dexteram, sic Deus Pater omnia fecit per Christum. Ideo Columba dicitur propter simplicitatem suam. Flamma, ut dicitur, Deus meus flamma deuorans et ignis consumens."

6. *Idem el*.—Idem uel, B. C. But the reading "idem El" is undoubtedly correct. *El* is the Hebrew ל, *God*, as the Gloss explains it. (See Isidor. Hispal., *Etymolog.*, vii. i. n. 3.)

7. *Prophetis*.—Prophetis, B. C.

9. *El terra*.—Terrae, B. C.

11. *Gabrielis*.—Gabriele, C.

12. *Albus*.—Evidently meaning *Alvus*, as the Gloss proves. *Alvus* is the reading of B. C. The remainder of this, and the next four lines, are effaced in B.

OFFERENTES TUS ET AURUM DIGNA REGI MUNERA  
MOR ERODII NUNTIA TUM INUIDENS POTENTIAE

15

TUM IUBET PARVOS NECARI TURBAM FECIT MARTIRUM  
PERTUR INFANS OCULENDUS NIBI PLUMEN QUO PLUIT

QUI REPERTUR POST ERODEM NUTRIENDUS NAZARETH  
MULTA PARVUS MULTA ADULTUS SIGNA FECIT CELITUS

20

QUAE LATENT ET QUAE LEGUNTUR CORAM MULTIS TESTIBUS  
PRAEDICANS CELESTE REGNUM DICTA FACTIS APPROBAT

Gloss.—15. *Offerentes*.—i. ap a chumbri na tuce mirram. no ni thalla and in ueppu [it was for brevity he did not introduce myrrh; or it would not fit in the verse], vel quia postea dicitur. 16. *Nuntiatum*.—i. opus nascendi. *Inuidens*.—i. Herodes. *Potentia*.—i. Christi. 17. *Iubet*.—i. Herodes. *Parvos*.—Cepc. cia bn na mac paibe pochep pundo la hepoib [ni-handpa, Question; what is the number of the children here put to death by Herod? The answer is not difficult] duo milia .c. xl. ut Gregorius manifestat in sacramentario. 18. *Fertur*.—i. ducitur. Quatuor annis fuit Christus in Egipto fugiens Herodem. Eliopolis .i. solis civitas, nomen civitatis in qua Christus in Egipto habitavit. Eleos, sol, polis, civitas, interpretatur. Ubi ut aiunt in die adventus illius in urbem omnia idula ejus comminuta sunt. Affrodus vero nomen principis illius qui Christum et parentes ejus beuigne suscepit. 19. *Refertur*.—i. bepar [is related]. *Post Erodem*.—i. post mortem Herodis. 20. *Parvus*.—i. parvulus. *Adultus*.—i. an po popbar [as he grew]. *Celitus*.—i. per virtutem celestem. 21. *Quae latent*.—i. in na hi nae peppa [the things that are not known]. *Leguntur*.—i. na hi po peppa [the things that are known]. *Testibus*.—i. apostolorum et discipulorum.

13. *Virgine puerpera*.—Virginem puerperam. C.

14. *Primi*.—In the upper margin of the page (p. 13 of the MS.) is a note on this word, which is in some places illegible. The following is all that can now be deciphered:—“ . . . . Primi .i. na hupgoe [the shepherds]; vel Primi ex gentibus hi fuerunt, quia prius ante eos adoraverant eum pastores, ante xiii. . . . iuxta turrin Gadder. Molcho eorum senior qui aurum Deo regi obtulit. Secundus Caspar iuvenis qui tus Deo obtulit. Tertius Pati[farsat qui] mirram homini obtulit. Unde quidam dixit:—

Melchar twnachtard mo oip;  
Cappar tuce in tur dimoip;  
Patifarsat tue in mir maich;  
Conaparsat dono niglath.

[Melchar was the presenter of the gold;  
Caspar brought the costly frankincense;  
Patifarsat brought the goodly myrrh;  
And they offered them to the royal Lord.]

Gregorius. Auro sapientia designatur. Ture autem quod Deo incenditur virtus orationis exprimitur. Per mirram carnis nostrae mortificatio figuratur. Nos itaque nato Domino offeramus aurum, ut hunc ubique regnare fateamur. Offeramus tus ut credamus quod is qui in tempore apparuit Deus ante tempora extitit. Offeramus mirram ut eum quem credimus in sua divinitate impassibilem, credamus etiam in nostra fuisse mortali carne.” This citation, with some unimportant variations, will be found in the treatise of St. Gregory the Great, *In Evang.*, Lib. i. Hom. x. (Ed. Bened., tom. i. 1470. C.) See a curi-

**D**ebiles facit uigere cecos luce illuminat  
uerbis purgat leprae morbum mortuos resuscitat

**U**inum quod decerat idris motari aquam iubet  
nuptiis mero retentis propinquando poculo

25

**P**ane quino pisce bino quinque pascit milia  
et peperit praegmenta cenae ter caternis coruibus

Gloss.—25. *Idris*.—i. on na uirai lepraiab [in the water vessels]. *Motari*.—i. a sua natura in vinum. 26. *Retentis*.—i. hominibus. *Propinando*.—i. anbab pobaitce in uair pin [what had been distributed at that time]. *Poculo*.—i. fit poculum . . . . . culum leprai [a vessel]. 27. *Pascit*.—i. Christus. *Milia*.—i. virorum, exceptis mulieribus et parvulis.

ous Irish poem on the Three Magi, published by Dr. Reeves from the Gospels of Maelbrihte, *Proceedings, R. I. Academy*, vol. v. p. 47. The custom of offering gold, frankincense, and myrrh, on the altar, on the feast of Epiphany, is still kept up at the royal chapel of St. James's Palace. *Parvulum*.—In the left-hand margin is this note:—"Pulcherrime munerum sacramenta Juvenus prespiter uno versiculo comprehendit:—

'Tus, aurum, mirram, regique, hominique, deoque,  
Dona ferunt.'"

See Juvenci *Historia Evangelica*, lib. i. *Biblioth. Patrum* (Lugd. 1667), tom. iv. p. 57. F.

15. *Tus*.—Thus, C.

16. *Erodii*.—Herodi, C.

17. *Tum*.—Cum, B. The Gloss gives 2140 as the number of the martyred Innocents, on the authority of the Sacramentary of St. Gregory. But nothing of the kind is to be found in that work, as we now have it.

18. *Oculendus*.—Oculendus, B. Occidendus, C.

19. *Erodem*.—Herodem, B. C.

20. *Celitus*.—Coelitus, B. C. *Multa parvus*.—Alluding, probably, to the miracles said to have been wrought by our Lord during His infancy. See Thilo, *Codex Apoc. N. T.* (Lips. 1832). I. A. Fabricii, *Codex Apoc. N. T.* (Hamburgi, 1703), especially the *Evangelium Infantiae*.

21. *Quæ latent*.—Alluding to St. John xxi. 25.

22. *Approbat*.—Adprobat, B. *Dicta factis*.—In the margin is the following note:—"Dicta factis .i. vivificat mortuos, illuminat cecos."

23. *Facit*.—Fecit, B. C. *Cecos*.—Cæcos, B. *Illuminat*.—Inluminat, B.

24. *Morbum*.—Bede reads (*De arte metrica*, c. 23), "Verbis purgas lepræ morbos," where *purgas* is an evident mistake. *Mortuos resuscitat*.—In the margin is the following note:—"Tres tantum homines Christus suscitavit, .i. Lazarus, et filia Jari principis sinagoge, atque filius viduæ. Hi tres homines significant peccata hominum. Filia principis, suscitata in cubiculo, significat peccatum cordis. Filius viduæ,



TURBA EX OMNI DISCUMBENTE IUgem LAudem PERTULIT  
DUODECIM UIROS PROBAVIT PER QUOS VITA DISCITUR

30

EX QUIS UNUS INVENITUR CHRISTI IUDAS TRADITOR  
INSTRUUNTUR MISI AB ANNA PROBITORIS OSCULO

INNOCENS CAPTUS TENETUR NEC REPUgnANS DUCITUR  
SISTITUR PALSIS gRassatur OFFERENDUS PONTIO

GLOSS.—29. *Discumbente*.—i. ani o mīapareb mō ule būden [the thing from which the whole company was served]. Unde discus dirivatur, i. mīap [a dish]. *Pertulit*.—i. Christus. 30. *Viros*.—i. apostolos. *Probat*.—i. elegit. *Vita*.—i. futura. 31. *Quis*.—i. apostolis. *Judas*.—i. ut Christus dixit Unus vestrum me traditurus est . . . vel osculum pacis et amoris et mortis est, ut iudas dixit Quemcumque osculatus fuero ipse est. 32. *Instruuntur*.—i. ab iudeis et sacerdotibus. *Misi*.—i. latrones. 33. *Innocens*.—i. Christus. *Tenetur*.—i. ap̄gab̄thap̄ [is seized]. 34. *Sistitur*.—i. ducitur. *Palsis*.—i. verbis vel conviciis. *Pontio*.—i. praesidi regis mundi.

suscitatus in ostio civitatis, significat peccatum verbi prolatum foris. Lazarus, suscitatus de sepulcro, significat peccatum actionis cum m[orte].” This interpretation was common in the middle ages; and may be found for substance in St. Gregory, *Moral.*, Lib. iv. 52 (*Opp. Ed. Bened.*, tom. i. 125, C.)

25. *Idris*.—Hidriis, B. Hydriis, C. *Motari*.—Mutari, B. C. Under each word in this line is a very small letter, thus:—

unum quod deepar rōpīr  
e d d e  
motari aquam iubet  
e b a

and similar letters occur in the next line, and elsewhere in several parts of the MS. They are evidently intended to mark the grammatical order of the words, for the sake of persons not familiarly acquainted with Latin. Taking the words in the order of the letters as above, the line reads thus: “Jubet aquam mutari quod deerat vinum hydriis.” This was pro-

bably deemed the more necessary in this line, because the construction leaves it doubtful whether “vinum mutari aquam” means “wine to be changed into water,” or “water to be changed into wine.”

26. *Mero retentis*.—Mærore tentis, C. An erroneous reading, which Daniel has inadvertently copied. *Propinnando*.—Propinato, C. *Poculo*.—Populo, B., probably a mistake of Muratori’s transcript. This is the only word which he could read of the line; and the next two lines were also illegible to him in the MS.

27. *Pane quino*.—In the margin is the following note: “No bīth [or it is] binus et quinus secundum veteres. Nunc autem bini et quini, ut Priscianus dicit.”—See Priscian, *De Figuris numerorum*, c. vi. (*Opp. ed. Aug. Kriegl. Lips.* 1820, vol. ii. p. 398).

28. *Et sefert*.—C. gives this line thus: “Et refectis fragmenta cænæ ter quaternis corbibus.” *Caternis coruibis* in the

**D**ISCUIT OBIECTA PRAESES NULLUM CREMEN INVENIT  
SED CUM TURBA IUDEORUM PRO SALUTE CESARIS

35

**D**ICERENT CHRISTUM NECANDUM TURBIS SANCTUS TRADITUR  
IMPIS UERBIS GRASSATUR SPUTA PLAGRA SUSTINET

**S**CANDERE CRUCEM IUBETUR INNOCENS PRO NOXIS  
MORTE CARNIS QUAM GEREBAT MORTEM VICIT OMNIUM

40

**T**UM DEUM CLAMORE MAGNO PATREM PENDENS INVOCAT  
MORS SECUTA MEMBRA CHRISTI LAXAT STRICTA VINULA

Gloss.—35. *Objecta*.—i. na taepai dopata pop Opiore [the charges that were made against Christ]. *Invenit*.—i. in Christo, ut dicitur Innocens ego sum a sa[n]guine iusti huius. 36. *Cesaris*.—(An ba toepab dopibe nomen regis [for the name of king was an insult to him]) . . . regem esse dicebat. Cessar dictus a cesso [i. e. caso] m[atris] utero. 37. *Turbis*.—i. iudeorum. *Traditur*.—i. Christus. 38. *Sputa*.—i. na paile [spittle]. *Flagra*.—i. na ppaigle [scourges]. 39. *Iubetur*.—i. a iudeis ut dicitur crucifigite crucifigite. *Noxas*.—i. pro hominibus. 40. *Gerabat*.—i. portabat. *Unicum*.—i. hominum. 41. *Clamore*.—i. quando dixit Heli Heli et in manus tuas domine commendo. 42. *Stricta*.—i. nervi corporis Christi.

text is evidently an antiquated spelling of “quaternis corlibus;” and *sefert* is an error of transcription for “refert.” *Corribus*.—Over this word is the following note: “Curvus, epom [crooked, bent]; Corvus, piach [a raven]. Cophinus . . . quod est hic.”

30. *Duodecim*.—To be read as a trisyllable, which is remarked by the scholiast in the following marginal annotation: “Lege dodecim sine *u*. in scandendo.”

31. *Quis*.—*Quis* [i. e. quibus], B. C., which would spoil the metre.

32. *Misi*.—*Missi*, B. C. On this word there is the following curious note in the margin: “*Misi*.—i. o Chaiphap ip eo po p̄aroebpom [i. e. it was by Caiaphas he was sent], quia ille sacerdos fuit illius anni, sed causa metri dicit ab Anna, et in libris historiarum refertur quod .vii. fuissent principes inter Annam et Caifam,

sed filia Annas coniux fuit Caifas.” Conf. S. John, xviii. 13. It is probable that the *Libri Historiarum* here quoted are a general reference to the Histories of Josephus, which were known in the middle ages from the abridgment under the name of Hegesippus, and the Latin version ascribed to Rufinus. It appears that there were exactly seven High Priests (inclusive) between the first priesthood of Annas and that of Caiaphas, in which our Lord was crucified. They are thus enumerated by Aug. Tornielli, *Annal. Sacr.*, tom. i. p. 384 (fol. Lucæ, 1757):—

- 70. Ananus, qui et Annas, socer Caiaphæ.
- 71. Ismael, Fabi f.
- 72. Eleazar, Anani f.
- 73. Simon, Camithi f.
- 74. Josephus, qui et Caiaphas.
- 75. Iterum Annas.
- 76. Iterum Caiaphas, sub quo Christus passus est.

The numbers signify that Annas was the

Uela templi seisa pandunt nox obscurat saeculum  
excitantur de sepulchris dudum clausa corpora

Affuit ioseph beatus corpus mirra perlitum  
lintheo rudi ligatum cum dolore condidit

45

Milites seruire corpus annas princeps praecepit  
ut uideret si probaret christus quod sponderet

Angelum dei tremantes ueste amictum candida  
quo candore claritatis uellus uicit sericum

50

Gloss.—43. *Vela*.—i. ut dicitur Ecce velum templi seismum est in duas partes. *Nox*.—i. tenebrae sanctae sunt super universam terram a sexta hora usque ad nonam horam. 44. *Excitantur*.—ut dicitur Multa corpora sanctorum resurrexerunt post resurrectionem suam, et apparuerunt multis in hierusalem. 45. *Affuit*.—i. venit dives ab arimathea nomine ioseph. 46. *Rudi*.—i. novo. *Condidit*.—i. sepelivit. 47. *Milites*.—i. romanorum. *Annas*. i. pro caifa hic iterum annas dicitur. 48. *Sponderet*.—i. tertia die resurgere, et dicit iterum Solvite templum hoc et in triduo resuscitabo illud. 50. *Sericum*.—i. Seres i. nomen gentis a quo et sericum vestimentum . . . . .

70th from Aaron, inclusive; Ismael the 71st, &c.

34. *Grassatur*.—Grassantur, B. Grassatur, C., who suggests *gravatur* in the margin. *Offerendus*.—Offerentes, B.

35. *Discutit*.—This line and the next are omitted in B. *Cremen*.—Crimen, C.

36. *Cæsaris*.—The Gloss, in a mixture of Irish and Latin, tells us that “the name of *King* was regarded as an insult by the Romans.” Some words are illegible; but the meaning seems to be, that the name of “Cæsar” came to be substituted for “King.”

37. *Necandum*.—Negandum, B. C.

38. *Grassatur*.—Grassantur, B. Grassatur, C.

39. *Crucem*.—In the left-hand margin there is the following note: “Quare noluit Dominus alia morte mori nisi morte crucis, quia crux magnum miste-

rium habet. Si enim crux in terra proicitur per .iii. ejus partes, .iii. partes mundi demonstrat. In hoc voluit Dominus demonstrare quod non venit unam partem mundi redimere sed totum humanum genus.” A similar interpretation of the four points of the cross is given in the *Sermo de Symbolo*, published with the works of St. Augustine (Ed. Bened., tom. vi. Append. 279 B.) Another note in the right-hand margin is as follows: “Quatuor ligna fuerunt in cruce Christi, cedrus a cor 7 cuppir atenga 7 gup in gemb do patad tpeche 7 bethe in clap in po pepibad in titul . . . . [cedar was its foot (or shaft), and cypress was its tongue, and deal was the piece that went across, and birch was the board on which the title was written . . . .]

42. *Membra Christi*.—These are the only words here legible in B

**D**emouit saxum sepulchro surgens christus intiger  
haec uidit iudea mentax haec negat cum uiderit

**F**eminae primum mouentur saluatorem uiuere  
quas saluat ipse mestas complet tristes gaudio

**S**equae a mortuis paterna suscitatum dextera  
tertia die redisse nuntiat apostolis 55

**M**ox uidetur a beatis quos probauit fratribus  
quod redisset ambigentes intret ianuis clausis

**D**at docens praecepta legis dat diuinum spiritum  
spiritum dei perfectum trinitatis uinculum 60

GLOSS.—51. *Demouit*.—i. angelus remouit. *Intiger*.—i. corpore et anima. 52. *Haec uidit*.—i. mira opera resurrectionis. *Haec*.—Eadem opera. 53. *Feminae*.—i. Maria Magdalena et Maria Jacobi, et Josetis et Salomona monitae sunt circa resurrectionem Christi manifestam. 54. *Saluat*.—i. benedicit angelus vel christus. *Mestas*.—i. tristes mulieres. *Gaudio*.—i. resurrectionis christi. 55. *Paterna*.—i. virtute patris. 56. *Redisse*.—i. ad vitam. *Nuntiat*.—i. christus per mulieres. 57. *Probasit*.—i. elegit, vel bonis operibus, id est spe et fide et caritate. *Fratribus*.—i. apostolis. 58. *Redisset*.—i. resurrexisset. *Ambigentes*.—i. dubitantes, i. Tomas et ceteri de resurrectione Christi. 59. *Docens*.—i. christus. *Dat*.—i. do pat paxh in ppieta noeb popaib dia minchape [He sent the gift of the Holy Spirit upon them after Low Sunday] quamvis plenius dedit in pentecostem. 60. *Vinculum*.—i. na po thoimnibe combad deba no cethapda. achb tpeada [that it may not be supposed that they are two or four, but three] semper eo quod patrem et filium coniungit, vel vinculum quod homines ad deum coniungit.

43. *Scisa*.—*Scissa*, B. C. *Pandunt*.—*Pendent*, B. C.

44. *Excitantur*.—*Excitantur*, B. C.

45. *Affuit*.—*Adfuit*, B. C. *Mirra*.—*Myrra*, B. C.

46. *Lintheo*.—*Linteo*, B. C.

47. *Praecipit*.—*Præcipit*, B. C.

48. *Quod*.—*Quæ*, C. *Spoponderet*.—*Spoponderat*, B. C.

50. *Vellus*.—In the margin there is the following note: “Vellus sericum .i. in enai pepieba [i. e. the silk-worm cocoon] .i. cenele etatz march pem [i. e. a kind of costly cloth] sunt apud ethiopiam et indos quidam in arboribus vermes, et pompices appellantur, qui araneae more

tenuissima fila neunt, et unde sericum vestimentum efficitur.”—See Isid. Hispal. *Etymol.*, lib. xix. c. 27.

51. *Demouit*.—*Demouet*, C. *Sepulchro*.—There is an erasure before the word *sepulchro*. Perhaps the scribe had originally written “e sepulchro;” but perceiving that the metre would not bear this addition, he erased the “e.” *Surgens*.—*Surgit*, C. *Intiger*.—*Integer*, B. C.

52. *Judea mentax*.—*Judaea mendax*, B. C. *Viderit*.—*Videret*, B. C. The next two lines are illegible in B.

54. *Mestas*.—*Moestas*, C. *Tristes*.—*Tristeis*, C.

56. *Redisse*.—*Rediise*, B. But the metre



**P**raecepit totum per orbem baptizari credulos  
nomen patris inuocantes confitentes filium

**M**istica fide reuelat tinctos sancto spiritu  
fonte tinctos innouatos filios factos dei

**A**nte lucem turba fratrum concinamus gloriam  
qua docemur nos futuri sempiterna secula

65

**G**alli cantus galli plausus proximum sentit diem  
nos cantantes et precantes quae futura credimus

**M**aiestatemque immensam concinamus iugiter  
ante lucem nuntiemus christum regem saeculo

70

Gloss.—61. *Praecepit*.—i. Ite docete omnes gentes baptizantes eos in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. 63. *Reuelat*.—i. innovat. *Tinctos*.—i. baptizatos. 64. *Fonte*.—i. baptismi. *Innovatos*.—i. gratia spiritus sancti. 65. *Lucem*.—i. diei. *Turba*.—i. vocata. *Fratrum*.—i. in christo. 66. *Docemur*.—Cumbach ȝnechtig docheptarȝ pil hic [It is a verb in a passive form here] ut Priscianus dicit. *Futuri*.—Vel os [i. e. vel futuros]. *Sempiterna*.—i. apud deum. 67. *Galli cantus*.—Sicut canit gallus ante lucem sic decet nos cantare ante lucem matutini temporis, vel ante diem iudicii. 68. *Futura*.—i. praemia celestia. 69. *Majestatemque*.—i. Dei.

requires a trisyllable; so that *rediisse* must have been pronounced “redisse,” or “red-yisse,” whether so written or not.

58. *Intret*.—Intrat, B. C. Cassander puts a comma after *redisset*, instead of after *ambigentes*: the meaning is, “they doubted whether he would return.”

61. *Praecepit*—Precipit, B. C. *Baptizari*.—Baptizare, C.

63. *Mistica*.—Mystica, B. C.

65. *Ante lucem*.—Part of this line and the whole of the next are illegible in B. *Concinemus*.—Concinimus, C. Muratori’s transcript of B. gives “Concinit,” which is probably wrong.

67. *Galli cantus*.—In the margin is the following note: “Galli plausus, galli cantus. Gallus .i. Gall a candore. Gal-

lus .i. callech [a cock] .i. a galea capitis dictus est. Job dicit Quis dedit gallo scientiam . . . . [Job, xxxviii. 36.]” In the upper margin there is a note which has no connexion with the text, except that the mention of the cock’s crow appears to have suggested St. Peter. It is taken from the *Questiones ex Vet. et Novo Testamento*, printed with the works of St. Augustine (Ed. Bened., tom. iii. Append.), but now acknowledged to be spurious. This note is as follows: “Tunc Salvator cum pro se et Petro dari iubet, pro omnibus solvisse videtur; quia vero omnes in Salvatore erant causa magisterii, ita et post Salvatorem in Petro omnes continentur. Ipsum enim post se reliquit pastorem. Denique dicit illi, Ecce Sata-

ANTE lucem decantantes christo regi domino  
et qui in illum recte credunt regnaturi cum eo

GLORIA patri unigenito gloria unigenito  
simul cum sancto spiritu in sempiterna secula

Gloss.—71. *Decantantes*.—i. laudem. 72. *Regnaturi*.—i. sunt. *Cum eo*.—i. cum christo. 73. *Gloria*.—i. sit. *Gloria*.—i. sit. *Unigenito*.—i. filio.

nas expostulavit ut vos ventilet velut triticum, ego autem rogavi pro te, ne deficiat fides tua, et tu conversus confirma fratres tuos. Manifestum est in Petro omnes contineri, rogans enim pro Petro pro omnibus rogasse cognoscitur. Semper enim in præposito populus aut corripitur aut laudatur.”—*Quæst. ex N. Test.* lxxv. (*Opp. S. Aug.*, tom. iii., Append. p. 73, B.) St. Augustine, in one of his acknowledged writings (lib. iv. *ad Bonifacium*, c. 4) quotes a passage under the name of Hilary (but without saying what Hilary), which is found verbatim in these *Quæstiones*. This gave rise to the opinion that they were by Hilary of Poitiers, which is, however, not likely. Cave and others, who think Hilary, the Roman deacon, under Pope Damasus, to have been intended, are more probably right. On the whole, the decision of the Benedictine editors of St. Augustine seems well founded—viz., that the *Quæstiones* were compiled at different times, and from the works of various authors, and so may have included an extract from some writer named Hilary. The editors say: “Hic nos, ut de commentariorum auctore nihil pronuntiemus, juvat in subjectas Quæstiones observare, MStorum codicum eam a nobis comprehensam esse varietatem, quæ efficere

possit, ut jam demum revocetur, atque invalescat opinio Erasmi et aliorum qui primum suspicabantur non unius hominis esse illud Quæstionum opus, in quo eadem quæ dicta sunt iterari, et propositis titulis rursum tractari eandem quæstionem; tum dissimile dicendi genus adhiberi; nec ipsa constanter eadem, sed plane contraria dogmata propugnari cernebant.”—*Ibid.*, p. 34. Ceillier (*Hist. des Auteurs Eccles.*, tom. xi. p. 415) is of the same opinion. He says: “Quelques uns ont cru que c’étoit l’ouvrage d’Hilaire, Diaire de l’Eglise Romaine, sous le Pontificat du Pape Damase. On y trouve en effet plusieurs opinions et plusieurs maximes exprimées dans les mêmes termes, que dans le Commentaire sur S. Paul, qui porte le nom de cet Auteur. Mais il a apparence que toutes ces questions ne sont pas d’une même personne,” &c.

68. *Cantantes*.—Canentes, B. Cante-mus, C.

69. *Concinemus*.—Concinemus, B. Concinimus, C. *Iugiter*.—Uniter, B. C.

71. *Decantantes*.—B. reads: “Ante lucem nuntiemus Christum regem sæculo.” C. reads: “Ante lucem nuntiemus Christum regem Domini.”

72. *Et*.—Om., B.

73. *Gloria*.—C. has only “Gloria, &c.”

Τε decet ἡμνῶν Θεῶν in Sion ἡ τῶν πεδδεῖται υῶτον in hierusalem.

Canticum spiritualibus dilectatū hmnor Chripte conponanter canimur tibi quibus tua Domine maiestas possit placari oblata Deo laudis hortia ppiuati per te Chripte Iesu paluatoe.

Unitas in trinitate te deprecor Domine ut me semper trahas totum tibi uotum uouere.

*Te decet.*—This antiphon (which is from Ps. lxiv. *Vulg.*) and the following collects are omitted in B. Over the word *Sion* is the gloss, “et non in thethralibus;” and over the word *Hierusalem*, “quia ibi habitas.” The word *thethralibus* seems to be some corrupt reading or error of the scribe.

The antiphon and collects at the end of this Hymn are in the angular characters already noticed (see pp. 23, 80), but

in the handwriting of the original scribe. The last of these seems to admit of a metrical arrangement:—

“Unitas in Trinitate  
Te deprecor Domine,  
Ut me semper trahas totum,  
Tibi votum vouere.”

In which lines, however, we must not look for any very strict observance of the rules of Prosody. *Vouere* seems to have the penultimate short.

## ADDITIONAL NOTE.

### *Translation of the Preface.*

THE following is a literal translation of the Scholiast's Preface, which is in the usual rude mixture of Irish and Latin:—

HYMNUM DICAT. Hilary<sup>a</sup>, bishop and prince<sup>b</sup> of the city which is called Pictavis [Poitiers], made this hymn to Christ, in Mount Garganum, after eating his dinner there in the house of the robber. And after giving thanks to God, there came the sons of life<sup>c</sup> afterwards, so that they were not larger than infants, as it seemed to a priest who was with them. An angel came and said to them, "Unless you do penance, you shall go to hell." Therefore they did penance, and God gave them pardon (*indulgentiam*), by means of this Hymn (*per istam laudem*). Thus it is our duty to sing after dinner (*sic nobis convenit canere post prandium*).

Another account:—The place [where this Hymn was written] was a cave on the breast of the Mount of Jove<sup>d</sup>, in the Alps, in which philosophers<sup>e</sup> were before. The time was the reign of Valentian [*sic*] and

<sup>a</sup> *Hilary*.—A large proportion of this Preface is in rude Latin, mixed with sentences of Irish. The Editor has thought it advisable to translate the whole into English, adding some few explanatory notes.

<sup>b</sup> *Prince*.—"Hilarius episcopus et princeps civitatis que dicitur Pictavis." St. Hilary was of a noble family of Poitiers, which is, perhaps, the reason why he is here called "princeps."

<sup>c</sup> *The sons of life*.—That is Christians; see above p. 30, note <sup>u</sup>. The Editor has not been able to find any life of St. Hilary which mentions this strange legend. During the Arian persecution he was banished (A. D. 356), and took refuge in Phrygia. After his recall he visited Milan and other parts of

Italy; but we find no mention of his having been at Mount Garganum, in Apulia, a place which was not known in Church history for at least a century later, when it became sacred as the scene of a reputed apparition of St. Michael the Archangel (Baron. *ad an.* 492, *et Martyrol. Rom. ad 8 Maii. Actt. SS. Bolland.*, tom. viii. *Sept.*, p. 58). It is not easy to see the point of the story told above of the "sons of life" seeming not larger than infants to the priest who was with them (or *with him*. i. e. with Hilary, as it might be rendered). It does not at first sight appear to have much connexion with the duty of saying grace after dinner, which, nevertheless, seems to be intended as its moral, from the words "*sic nobis convenit canere post prandium*."



Valens. The person [i. e. the author of the Hymn] was Hilarius. The cause [i. e. the occasion of writing the Hymn] was this: an angel demanded it (*postulavit*), when he came to the city Susanna', with three hundred men, viz., one hundred clerics, and two hundred laymen. But one of the clerics died from the cold of the winter, and Hilary prayed for his monk<sup>g</sup>; and that very night an angel said unto him, "It behoves thee to search the Scriptures, and compose a hymn to God." And he did as the angel commanded, and raised the dead by the grace of God.

The metre<sup>h</sup> is trochaic tetrameter. It receives a spondee in all places (except in the third place), and

<sup>d</sup> *Mount of Jove*.—This is also a place which was not celebrated in ecclesiastical history until long after the time of St. Hilary. It is now well known to all European tourists under the name of Mount St. Bernard, so called from the celebrated monastic *Hospice* founded there in the tenth century by St. Bernard of Menthon, Archdeacon of Aoust, who died A. D. 1008. Up to his time the site of the present Hospice was occupied by a pillar stone, and some say an image of Jupiter, with an eye of carbuncle, which cured diseases, and uttered oracles. This was overthrown by St. Bernard, who founded in its place the present monastery. See *Actt. SS. Bollandi, ad 15 Junii*. It is not improbable that the fame of this event may have influenced the Scholiast, who was probably a contemporary of St. Bernard of Menthon, in fixing upon the *Mons Jovis* as the scene of his legend. He gives the date of St. Hilary with tolerable correctness, when he says that the Hymn was composed in the reign of Valentinian and Valens (A. D. 364–375). The year 368 is usually given as that of St. Hilary's death.

<sup>e</sup> *Philosophers*.—The original has "philophi," which seems a mistake for "philosophi."

<sup>f</sup> *Susanna*.—This is some corruption: possibly *Soissons*. The Editor has not been able to find this story of the hundred clerics and two hundred laymen in any of the Lives of St. Hilary.

<sup>g</sup> *His monk*.—In Irish writers the *monk* of a bishop signifies his attendant, or vassal. The word does not necessarily imply that the person so designated was a *monk*, properly so called. Mr. Curry has referred the Editor to the following passage in the *Leabhar Gabhala* of the O'Clerys, p. 176, where Aedh Ollan, King of Ireland, is styled the "Gospel monk" of Congus, abbot or bishop of Armagh: *Con-ḡur comarba p̃at̃ar̃ig do p̃uḡm̃ in p̃anñio do*

*ḡp̃er̃aḡt̃ Oeḡa Ollan a m̃añar̃ig p̃oir̃ceḡa im d̃foḡail p̃áraiḡte a ḡille*, "Congus, successor of Patrick, composed the following verse to induce Aedh Ollan, his Gospel monk, to avenge the violation of his church." This the Four Masters (at A. D. 732) understand as implying that Congus was the *annchura* or spiritual adviser of Aedh, i. e. his Gospel master, so that Aedh would therefore be the spiritual *monk*, i. e. servant or disciple in Christ of Congus. The word occurs again, in the same sense, p. 200 of the same MS.; and so, in the Brehon Laws, *manach* [a monk] means a servant or slave, as *Manach-gobla*, a gallows' slave, i. e. a person redeemed by purchase or entreaty from the gallows, and who became servant or slave for life to the person by whom he was redeemed.

<sup>h</sup> *The metre*.—This paragraph, as already remarked, is from Bede's tract, *De Arte metrica*, c. 23, with some slight variations. Bede's words are as follows:—"Metrum trochaicum tetrametrum, quod a poetis Græcis et Latinis frequentissime ponitur, recipit locis omnibus trocheum, spondeum omnibus præter tertium. Currit autem alternis versiculis, ita ut prior habeat pedes quatuor, posterior pedes tres et syllabam. Hujus exemplum totus hymnus ille pulcherrimus:—

Hymnum dicat turba fratrum,  
Hymnum cantus personæ.  
Christo regi concinentes,  
Laudes deus debitas.

"In quo aliquando et tertio loco prioris versiculi spondeum reperies: ut

Factor cœli terræ factor,  
Congregator in maris.

"Et

Verbis purgas lepræ morbos."

a trochee in all places. In which thou mayest sometimes find a spondee in the third place of a prior<sup>1</sup> verse :

Factor cœli et terræ factor . . . .

and —

Verbis purgat lepræ morbum.

Moreover, it runs in alternate verses, so that the prior verse has four feet, the posterior three, and a syllable.

Ymnus, in Greek, signifies *Laus* (praise) in Latin ; or Ymnus means Memory<sup>1</sup>, as in the Greek Psalter, *Ymnostestmon*, that is, He was mindful of us. And it is of the praise of God especially that a Hymn is lawful ; and it is to music it is sung, as Augustin<sup>k</sup> says, in the *Decades*<sup>1</sup>. Hymnos primum David<sup>m</sup> propheta [sic] in laudem Dei composuisse manifestum est.

<sup>1</sup> *Prior*.—This Hymn has been written in the MS. from which it is now printed, *in lines*, not in the *versiculi* of which Bede speaks. Each line consists of two *versiculi*, which Bede calls *prior* and *posterior*,—the *prior* consisting of four feet, the *posterior* of three and an half. The third foot of the *prior* versiculus may be a spondee, instead of a trochee, of which he gives two examples ; but the third foot of the posterior versicle must always be a trochee.

<sup>i</sup> *Memory*.—There seems some strange confusion here between the words *hymnus* and *μνήμη*. The passage quoted from “the Greek Psalter” is apparently from Ps. cxlii. 20, *Sept.*, Κύριος μνησθεὶς ἡμῶν. The scribe having seen the last two words written, “mnestesemon,” or “mnistesimon,” transformed them into “ymnos testmon,” retaining the correct translation “*memor fuit nostri*.”

<sup>k</sup> *Augustin*.—The sentiment here quoted from St. Augustin is that given in Irish which precedes, not the Latin words which follow, this reference ; and

the passage intended is probably from the *Enarr. in Ps. lxxii. 1*. “Hymni laudes sunt Dei cum cantico ; hymni cantus sunt continentes laudem Dei. Si sit laus, et non sit Dei, non est hymnus : si sit laus, et Dei laus, et non cantetur, non est hymnus.”—*Opp. tom. iv. (Ed. Bened.) p. 753*. A similar passage occurs, *Enarr. in Ps. cxlviii. 17* ; *Ibid. p. 1682* ; see also Isidorus Hispal., *Etymol. vi. c. 19, n. 17*.

<sup>1</sup> *The Decades*.—The Commentaries (or “*Enarrationes*”) of St. Augustin on the Psalms were anciently divided into fifteen *decades*. See Cassiodorus (*Prolog. in Psalm.*), quoted by the Benedictine editors (*Opp. S. Aug., tom. iv. Prefat.*) See also Isid. Hispal., *Epist. iii. Braulioni Archidiacono*, “Dum pariter essemus, postulavi te, ut mihi *decadem sextam sancti Augustini transmitteres*.”

<sup>m</sup> *David*.—“Psallere usum esse primum post Moysem David prophetam in magno mysterio prodit ecclesia.”—Isidor. Hispal., *De Officiis, i. c. 5, n. 1*. “Hymnos primum eundem David prophetam condidisse ac cecinisse manifestum est, deinde et alios prophetas.”—*Ibid., c. 6, n. 1*.

# VIII. THE HYMN OF ST. COLMAN MAC MURCHON, IN PRAISE OF MICHAEL THE ARCHANGEL.

THE following Hymn, so far as the Editor knows, has never before been printed. It is ascribed in the Preface to the three sons of "Murchu of the Connacians," or of Connaught (see Addit. Note), the eldest of whom was Colman a bishop, and the other two were priests.

Two saints called Murchu occur in the Calendars of the Irish Church. One of these, whose day was the 8th of June, is mentioned in the *Feilire*, or Festilogium, of Aengus the Culdee, and in that of Marianus Gorman, but without any particulars to indicate his date or history. In the Martyrology of Tallaght, and in that of Donegal (as also in the gloss on Marianus Gorman), he is called "the son of Hua Mactein," which gives us but little information.

The other (June 12) is merely named in the Martyrologies of Tallaght and Mar. Gorman; but his name does not occur in the *Feilire* of Aengus, so that he is probably of later date than the former. The Martyrology of Donegal has the following note on his name:—

Murchu.—*Ḃad Murchu do fhoct Conaill  
Cneithanne mic Neill Naon-ḡsallairḡ, ⁊ ad  
Cill Murchon ip in cCorann, anice Céipe  
Corann, a cConnaḡtaib; ⁊ feḡ an ipa a  
feil.*

*Murchu.*—There is a Murchu of the race of Conall Cremthainn, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages. And there is a Cill Murchon [or Church of Murchu, now *Kilmorgan*], in Corann, near Ceis Corann, in Connaught. And see if this is his festival.

This proves that the eminent Irish scholar, Michael O'Clery, the compiler of the Martyrology of Donegal, was not able to say who the Murchu was whose festival was celebrated on the 12th of June. He suggests that there was a Murchu, a descendant of Niall of the Nine Hostages: and that there

was also a Murchu (who may, perhaps, have been the same), to whom a church was dedicated in the barony of Corran, near Ceis-Corainn (now Keshcorran, or Keshcorrin), a remarkable hill in the county of Sligo. The father of Colman and his brothers, the reputed authors of this Hymn, is said to have been *do Chonachthaib*, “of the Connaughtmen,” and, therefore, may possibly have been the Murchu of Cill Murchon, situated<sup>1</sup> as just described. But this is uncertain; and, indeed, has little evidence to support it except the identity of the name.

The Four Masters, at A.D. 731, record the death of “Colman Mac Murchon (or son of Murchu), abbot of Maghbile,” i.e. Movilla, the church founded by St. Finian<sup>2</sup>, at the head of Strangford Lough, which was occasionally a bishop’s see in the seventh century; but Dr. Reeves has remarked, that from the year 731 forward (the year at which the Four Masters place Colman’s death) Movilla is noticed in the Annals as governed by abbots only.

The Four Masters do not call this Colman, who died 731, a bishop, but only abbot; it does not follow, however, that he was not a bishop; and it is most probable that he was the Colman Mac Murchon to whom the Scholiast has ascribed the authorship of the following Hymn.

The Editor has not found any other copy of it than that in the *Liber Hymnorum*, from which it is now printed. From the anecdotes preserved in the Scholiast’s Preface, it is probable that the author and his brothers were of the number of the Irish ecclesiastics who, in the eighth and following centuries, devoted themselves to missionary labour, or monastic retirement, on the Continent of Europe; and this may account for the scanty notice of this Colman Mac Murchon which remains in the native records of his country; although the Scholiast tells us that he afterwards returned to Ireland with his brothers—“et postea ad Hiberniam venerunt”—where he appears to have died Abbot of Movilla.

<sup>1</sup> *Situated*.—It is about two miles E. by N. from Ballymote.—*Ord. Surv.*, sheet 33. See Colgan, *Actt. SS.*, p. 465, col. 1, N<sup>o</sup>. 31.

<sup>2</sup> *S. Finian*.—See above, p. 98, and Reeves’ *Eccles. Antiquit. of Down and Connor*, pp. 151, 152.





IN Trinitate pper mea. Tri meice Murchon do Chonnachtaib do ponpat in moladpa do Michel. Colman a pinper 7 eppcob ríde 7 pacairt in diar aile. Caura .i. Dia nailthpe do chotap co tannic ambethine mop for muir lcht. Co ndeochoatari inn alaile mri, 7 co tannic gortat mop doib. Comd dia poepad ap in gortat rem do ponpat in moladpa. No ip do fíorpab inpe Ródam ap demnaib. Ap po boe apaile eppcob tapmítechtach inti peme sem, 7 in Phranciaib ata, 7 portea ab hiberniam uenerunt. Incertum est autem in quo tempore factus est. Tre nithim dan doponab 7 .xi. cairtell beac ann, 7 da lmi in cech caibdal, 7 pe pillaba deð cechai. Ip po i rípthum do reip in omine do bit ann.

TRINITATE spes mea fixa NON IN OMINE  
et archangelum deprecor michaelē nomine

UT sit obuius ac misus mihi deo DOCTORE  
hora exitus de uita ista atque corpore

NE me ducat IN AMARUM MINISTER INERGIÆ  
ipse princeps tenebrarum atque pes superbiæ

ADIUTORIUM succurrat michaelis et archangeli  
ad me hora qua gaudebunt iusti atque angeli.

GLOSS.—1. *In Trinitate*.—i. trinitas .i. quasi trina unitas. *Fixa*.—Est vel erit. *In omine*.—Ideo dixit non in omine quia aliquis monachus audiuit vocem avis surg[entis super] pectus maris, et dixit bonum omen, et tunc Colman dixit In trinitate. *Omen*, .i. cel [an omen] ab ominor. *Non in omine*.—i. pcapam pper in cel ap a abetchi [I reject augury, because of its abomination]. 2. *Archangelum*.—Angeli .i. nuntii, archangeli, .i. summi nuntii, interpretantur. Hir. [Hieronymus]. *Michaelē*.—(qui præest Judeis; vel qui sicut deus interpretatur, eoque in fine seculi aduersus eum qui se aduersus Deum erexerit mittendus. 3. *Doctore*.—i. de. 5. *Amarum*.—i. locum, vel in infernum. *Inergiæ*.—i. iniquæ operationis sed melius transfigurationis ut iesus dicit quod transfigurat se in angelum lucis. 6. *Ipsē princeps*.—i. diabolus ut apostolus dicit. 7. *Adiutorium*.—i. deprecor. *Succurrat*.—i. veniat cito. 8. *Iusti*.—i. animæ sanctorum.

1. *In Trinitate*.—For a translation of the Preface, see Addit. Note. *Non in omine*.—The Gloss appears to allude to some legend of a bird which appeared on

the sea, which a monk exclaimed was a good omen—"Bonum omen:" whereupon Colman repeated the words, "My sure hope is in the Trinity, not in an omen."

**I**llum rogo ne demittat mihi truces species  
inimici sed deducat ubi regni requies

10

**A**djuvet me sanctus michel diebus ac noctibus  
ut me ponat in bonorum sanctorum consortibus.

**S**anctus michel intercedat adiutor probabilis  
pro me quia sum peccator actu atque fragilis

**S**anctus michel me defendat semper suis viribus  
anima egrediente cum sanctorum milibus.

15

GLOSS.—9. *Illum*.—i. Michaellem. *Truces*.—i. grandai. 10. *Ubi*.—Est. *Requies*.—i. sive in celo sive in terra.

3. *Doctore*.—The second syllable is here made short. It is intended, no doubt, for *Ductore*.

5. *Energia*.—For *energia*. Here used for diabolical influence. Persons possessed with devils were called *Energumeni*.—Comp. 2 Thes. ii. 9, 11.

6. *Pes Superbia*.—Ps. xxxv. 12, *Vulg.*

7. *Et archangeli*.—The metre, as well as the sense, of this line would be improved if *et* were omitted. *Adjutorium* seems to have been pronounced in four syllables, and *Michaelis* in three.

9. *Species*.—In the “Fragmentum Synodi Ibernensis” (Martene, *Thes. Nov. Anecd.*, tom. iv. p. 1, sq. Villanueva, *Opusc. S. Patricii*, p. 169) this word is used to signify *the face*. “Sanguis Episcopi, vel excelsi principis, vel scribae, qui ad terram effunditur, si collirio indiguerit, eum qui effuderit *sapientes* crucifigi judicant, vel vii. ancillas reddat. Si in specie [i. e. if the wound be in the face] tertiam partem de argento.” And again, “Sanguis presbyteri qui ad terram effunditur donec col-

lyrium suffert, manus interfectoris abscindatur, vel dimidium vii. ancillarum reddat, si de industria: si autem non de industria, ancillae pretio sanetur. Si ad terram non perveniat, percussor ancillam reddat; si in specie ejus, tertiam partem de argento retribuat,” &c. If the word *species* be taken in the same sense here, the text may, perhaps, be thus translated: “I beseech him not to cast down upon me the horrible faces of the enemy, but to lead me where there is the rest of [God’s] kingdom.” The Gloss renders *truces* by *grandai*, or *grandæ*, i. e. great, large, from *grandus* for *grandis*.

11. *Adjuvet me*.—On the upper margin of the page (fol. 16 a) of the MS. there is a note, or extract, of no interest, from some medieval author. It has no reference whatsoever to the text, and is in some places illegible.

13. *Probabilis*.—Meaning *approved*, *to be highly lauded*, or *approved*.

16. *Anima egrediente*.—“May St. Michael, with myriads of the saints, conti-

SANCTUS gabriel sanctus raphiel atque omnes angeli  
intercedant pro me semper simul et archangelus

ETerna possint prestare regis regni aulica  
ut possideam cum christo paradisi gaudia

25

GLORIA sit semper deo patri atque filio  
simul cum spiritu sancto in uno consilio.

Adiuuet nos archangelus sanctus michael dignissimus quem  
recipere animas mittat deus altissimus.

Gloss.—17. *Gabriel*.—i. fortitudo Dei interpretatur. *Raphael*.—i. medicina Dei interpretatur, eo quod medicinavit tobiam de cecitate. 19. *Possint*.—i. angeli et archangeli. *Aulica*.—i. regia domus. *Archangelus*.—i. summus nuntius interpretatur. *Michel*.—i. qui sicut Deus interpretatur.

nally defend me by his power [especially] when my soul is departing [from the body].”

*Adiuuet nos*.—These lines are in a different character, but by the original scribe, like the similar lines after the other Hymns, of which we have already frequently spoken. Over the *a* in *mittat* a

small *i* is written, indicating a correction of the reading, from *mittat* to *mittit*. There is evidently a distich with a rude rhyme. The verses may be read thus :—

“Adjuvet nos archangelus,  
Sanctus Michael dignissimus,  
Quem recipere animas  
Mittat Deus altissimus.”

## ADDITIONAL NOTE.

### *The Scholiast's Preface.*

THE Preface of the Scholiast is for the most part in Irish, but, as in former instances, mixed with Latin words. The whole has been here translated, without distinguishing the phrases that are in Latin :—

*In Trinitate spes mea.* The three sons of Murchu of the Connacians made this Hymn to Michael. Colman<sup>a</sup>, the eldest of them, was a bishop; the other two were priests. The Cause<sup>b</sup> was this: they went on a pilgrimage, and a great tempest arose on the Iccian<sup>c</sup> sea, and they came to a certain island, and a great hunger came on them, and it was to deliver them from this hunger they composed this Hymn. Or, it was to free the island of Rodan<sup>d</sup> from Demons. For there had been a certain transgressing bishop in it before that; and it is in France. And afterwards they went to Ireland. It is uncertain, however, at what time this Hymn was composed. It is made in rhyme, and there are eleven<sup>e</sup> chapters in it, and two lines in each chapter, and sixteen<sup>f</sup> syllables in each line. It is on i<sup>g</sup> the rhyme is, on account of the *omine* being in it.

<sup>a</sup> *Colman*.—See what has been already said of him in the introductory remarks, p. 165.

<sup>b</sup> *The Cause*.—That is, the occasion on which the Hymn was composed.

<sup>c</sup> *Iccian Sea*.—i. e. the British Channel, *Irish Nennius*, p. 31, n. p. 272; *Genealogies of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 18, n.

<sup>d</sup> *Rodan*.—The Editor has not been able to identify this island, unless it be the *Isle St. Roui*, off the coast of Brittany. There is a St. Rodineus, or St. Rouin, an Irishman, whose original name was probably Rodan. He founded the Abbey of Beaulieu in Argonne, and died A. D. 680, on the 17th Sept., at which day his name occurs in the Calendar of the Church of France. See Menard, l. ii., *Observatt. in Martyrol. Bened.*, and Mabillon,

*Act. SS. Bened.*, where his life is given: Sec. iv. part ii., App., p. 543. *Venet.*, 1738.

<sup>e</sup> *Eleven*.—The MS. has .xi. capteell bec, a mistake for .i. capteell bec, or .xi. capteell, “eleven chapters.”

<sup>f</sup> *Sixteen*.—This is also a mistake, for the lines have only fifteen syllables. But line 7 seems to have seventeen syllables, or sixteen if we read *Michaelis* as a trisyllable. But in line 2 *Michaelen* is read in four syllables, and in lines 11, 13, and 15, where the name Michael is a dissyllable, it is written *Michel*.

<sup>g</sup> *It is on i*.—i. e. the rhyme is on the vowel *i*, as *omine*, and *nomine*, ver. 1 and 2. Every line has *i* either in the last or penultimate syllable, except lines 3, 4, where the last syllable is *e*.



IX. THE HYMN OF ST. OENGUS MAC TIPRAITE IN PRAISE OF  
ST. MARTIN.

THIS Hymn has never before been printed. It is ascribed in the Preface to Oengus Mac Tipraite, priest, or abbot, of Cluain Fota Baitain-abha<sup>1</sup>, a contemporary of St. Adamnan; and is said to have been written on the occasion of Adamnan's visitation of the Columban foundations in Ireland, A. D. 692 or 697. Oengus, however, lived to A. D. 745, at which year the Annals of Ulster record his death in these words: "Mors Oengusa filii Tipraiti abbatis Cluana Fota;" as also the Annals of Tighernach, in the words, *barr Oengusa meic Tipraite ab Cluana Fota baitain abha*, "Death of Aengus son of Tipraide, abbot of Cluain Fota Baitain-abha." The Four Masters alter the date given by the earlier annalists to 741. But all these authorities agree in styling Oengus *Abbot* of Cluain Fota Baitain-abha: they probably understood our Scholiast to have meant *abbot*, when he calls him *priest* of that monastery.

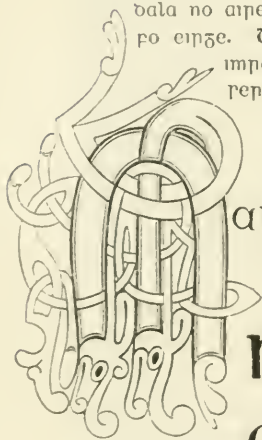
The Hymn is in extremely rude Latinity, and irregular metre, with rhyme or assonances at the end of the lines. Nothing is known of the author except what is recorded in the Preface, and in the Annals above quoted. His name does not occur in the Calendars or Martyrologies of the ancient Church of Ireland.

<sup>1</sup> *Cluain Fota Baitain-abha*.—This name signifies "the long lawn or meadow of Baitan of the river," now Clonfad, barony of Farbill, county of Westmeath. *Baitan of the river* may have been the founder of the monastery, or else, perhaps, a chieftain who was the original owner of the soil; but no other notice of him appears to have been

preserved. One of the earliest bishops of Clonfad was Etchein, who ordained St. Columba.—See the Legend, *Obits of Christ Church*, Introd., p. liv., and comp. Reeves' *Adamnan. Vit. S. Columbæ*, App. to Pref., p. lxxii. He died A. D. 577 or 578. Four Masters in anno; Colgan, *Act. SS.*, 11th of Feb.; Lanigan, *Eccles. Hist.*, vol. ii. p. 125.



MARTINE. Oengur macc tippaite pacapc eluana pota baitan aba ipe do ponai hunc  
 ſmnum. i eluam pota factur ert. Caupa autem adamnan boi pop cuapc cell  
 colum cille in hepenn co poacht co uirneach mibe co po ſapc do cecch pīp ſpāid  
 popp a paba liub ipin cip; co puacht in tepuacpa oengur in aibeche peſe martan.  
 et timuit ualde ut pecit hunc ſmnum in honorem martini dia poepad. uenit tpa  
 oengur do chum [na] dala appabapach 7 a immun eplam leiſ. 7 tappap do  
 adamnan martan pop a laim deiſ Oengura 7 atpacht tpa adamnan peme, et  
 honorificauit eum cum opculo et omner mirabantur cauſam honorip et diſit  
 Adamnan ut uidit martinum pecum, comib ap martan do biſch immaille pīp do  
 pat honor do. po poepad tpa amlaib rein oengur. et optendit ſmnum puum et  
 laudauit adamnan ſmnum et diſit ſnuip aipmiciu pop in ei gebap icbul do chum  
 dala no aipechta ocup comad diſit ap cecch ſgalap. ocup nem apa ſabail po liſe  
 po eiſge. Tpe piſhim dan do ponad, ſe caibbill ann 7 ba line cecch caibbill.  
 impecta dan ann et non aequalem numerum pillabapum pingulae liniae  
 repuant.



MARTINE te deprecor pro me rogaris patrem  
 christum ac spiritum sanctum habentem mariam  
 matrem

MARTINUS mirus more ore laudauit deum  
 puro corde cantauit atque amauit eum

electus dei uiui signa sibi salutis  
 donauit deus pacis magne atque uirtutis

5

Uerbum dei locutus secutus in mandatis  
 uirtutibus impletis mortuis resuscitatis

Gloss.—3. *More*.—i. caritatis atque religionis. 7. *Locutus*.—est. *Secutus*.—i. Deum. 8. *Impletis*.—amen.

1. *Martine*.—For a translation of the Preface see Addit. Note.

2. *Habentem*.—This seems heterodox, or at least very badly expressed, and

rude; for *habentem* agrees grammatically with *Spiritus Sanctum*, although, of course, intended to agree with *Christum*.

8. *Impletis*.—The Gloss “Amen” on

SANANS homines lepra cura duplice mira  
magnitudine mala egretudine dira

10

Deum dominum nostrum passum pro nobis mire  
uoluntarie propter nos deprecare martine

MARTINE.

Sanctus martinus adhuc catacominus hac me uerite contexit  
dicit dominus omnipotens.

Per merita martini sancti atque dignissimi nos precamur ut  
mereamur regnum dei uiui altissimi. Amen.

Gloss.—9. *Duplice*.—i. anima et corpore. 10. *Magnitudine*.—i. peccati. *Egretudine*.—i. corporis.

*Catacominus*.—i. adiutor fidei interpretatur.

this word is in a more recent hand, and is written under, not over, the word. *Mortuis resuscitatis*.—Sulp. Severi *De Vit. B. Martini*, c. 5, 6 (*Bibl. Patr.*, tom. vi., 350 H., 351 A. Lugd. 1677).

9. *Lepra*.—*Ibid.*, c. 19 (*ubi supr.*, 353 A.) *Cura duplice*.—With a twofold cure, of mind as well as body: converting them to the faith, as well as healing them of bodily disease. *Cura* is here used in the sense of *curatio morbi*.

12. *Martine*.—The Hymn ends here, as we infer from the repetition of the last word, *Martine*, which is also the first word of the Hymn. It is one of the artifices of Irish poetry to make a poem begin and end with the same word (see above, p. 23). What follows is in a different character, although by the original scribe (see above, pages 23, 80, 161).

*Catacominus*.—i. c. *Catechumenus*, a Catechumen. In the Gloss this word is ex-

plained *adiutor fidei*, which is, perhaps, a mistake for “auditor fidei.”—Isidor. Hispal., *Etymolog.*, vii. c. 14. The allusion is to the following legend, told by Sulpitius Severus in his Life of St. Martin:—During his military career, St. Martin found one day at the gate of the city of Amiens a poor man, naked, and shivering with the intense cold of a more than usually severe winter. None of the by-passers took any notice of the wretched suppliant’s appeals to their charity; but St. Martin, moved by compassion, took off his own cloak (chlamydem), and drawing his sword, divided it into two equal parts, one of which he gave to the poor man. At this time St. Martin was only a Catechumen, and had not as yet been baptized, although he was eighteen years of age. He entered the city amid the jeers of many, who ridiculed his appearance in his cloak cut short; but that same

night he saw in a dream Christ Himself, clothed in that very half of the cloak which had been given to the poor man, and being called upon to recognise the garment, he heard JESUS say to the surrounding angels, "Martin, although only a Catechumen, hath covered Me with this robe"—"Nocte igitur insecutâ, cum se sopori dedisset, vidit Christum clamydis suæ, quâ texerat pauperem parte vestitum. Intueri diligentissime Dominum, vestemque quam dederat jubetur agnoscere. Mox ad angelorum circumstantium multitudinem, audit JESUM clara voce dicentem: *Martinus, adhuc Catechumenus, hac Me veste contexit. Vere memor Dominus dictorum suorum* (qui ante prædixe-

rat: *Quandiu fecistis hæc uni ex minimis istis, mihi fecistis*), se in paupere professus est fuisse vestitum," &c. Upon this, St. Martin was immediately baptized, but continued almost two years longer in the army, to complete the term of his military service.—Sulp. Severi, *De Vita S. Martini*, c. 2 (*Biblioth. Patr.*, tom. vi., 350 A.) *Lib. Armac.* in Vit. S. Martini, fol. 192, where the form *Catacominus*, for *Catechumenus*, occurs.

*Per merita.*—There is here a rhyme or jingle:—

"Per merita Martini  
Sancti atque dignissimi  
Nos precamur  
Ut mereamur  
Regnum Dei vivi altissimi."



## ADDITIONAL NOTE.

### *The Scholiast's Preface.*

THE Preface, or Argument, details a curious legend, which is quite consistent with the date already assigned to the author of this Hymn. It is in the usual mixture of Latin and Irish, and may be translated as follows:—

*Martine.* Oengus Mac Tipraite<sup>a</sup>, priest of Cluain Fota Baitain-abha, was the person who composed this Hymn. It was composed in Cluain Fota. The Cause<sup>b</sup> was this: Adamnan was making his visitation<sup>c</sup> of the churches of Colum-cille in Erin, when he arrived at Uisneach of Meath; and every man of grade<sup>d</sup>, against whom there was any accusation in that country, was summoned to him; and the proclamation reached Oengus on the eve of the festival of Martin; and he feared greatly<sup>e</sup>, so that he made this Hymn in honour of Martin, to deliver himself. Then Oengus came to the assembly on the morrow<sup>f</sup>, and his Hymn ready with him; and Martin appeared to Adamnan on the right hand of Oengus, and Adamnan rose up before him [i. e. before Oengus], and did him honour with a kiss, and all wondered at the cause of the honour; and Adamnan said when he saw Martin with him, [i. e. with Oengus], that it was because Martin was with him that he gave him this honour. Thus did Oengus deliver himself; and he showed his Hymn, and Adamnan praised the Hymn, and said, An honourable aspect<sup>g</sup> shall be upon every one that

<sup>a</sup> *Oengus Mac Tipraite*.—See what has been said of him, p. 171, *supra*.

<sup>b</sup> *The Cause*.—That is, the cause or occasion on which it was composed.

<sup>c</sup> *His Visitation*.—This fixes the date to A. D. 692 or 697.—See Reeves' *Adamn.*, p. xlix. *Uisneach* is in the parish of Conry, diocese of Meath, a little south of which, in the parish of Ardmurcher, is *Suirce Cluainmáin* (now *Syonan*), "*sessio Adamnani*," which was probably the spot where the visitation or synod alluded to in the text was held.—Reeves' *Adamnan.*, *App. to Pref.*, p. lxxv.

<sup>d</sup> *Of grade*.—That is, every man who was in holy orders.

<sup>e</sup> *He feared greatly*.—Are we to infer from this that Oengus was one of those against whom some accusation had been brought? If so, his fears may have arisen from the apprehension that justice was not always to be expected from the ecclesiastical tribunals of that period.—See Reeves' *Adamnan*, lib. iii. c. 3, p. 192, and note <sup>a</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> *On the morrow*.—The Irish word is *appabapach*, which would be now written a *má*pach; a curious instance of the interchange of *b* and *m*.

<sup>g</sup> *An honourable aspect*.—That is, his very outward appearance shall be such as to command respect from all who see him.

sings it in going to an assembly, or court<sup>b</sup>, and it shall be a protection against every disease, and against poison, to him who sings it lying down and rising up.

It is composed in rhyme; there are six chapters in it, and two lines in each chapter; it is in assonances<sup>c</sup>; and the lines do not each preserve the same number<sup>d</sup> of syllables.

<sup>a</sup> *An assembly or court.*—*Dala* no *apecta*. *Dala* (the same word used above, where it is said that Oengus went to the assembly, at which he was to receive the judgment of Adamnan) is a general term for any meeting; *apecta* is properly a court or diet of princes, or officials, for making laws, or hearing civil causes; from *apectá*, a chieftain, or noble.

<sup>b</sup> *In assonances.*—*Recpa*, repetition of the same sound at the end of each line.

<sup>c</sup> *The same number.*—The lines have generally

fourteen syllables. Verse 2 has sixteen syllables, but may be reduced to fourteen, if we elide the final syllable of *Christum* before *ac*, and pronounce *Mariam* as a dissyllable, *Marjam*. Verses 8 and 12 have fifteen syllables; in verse 8, *mortuis* is pronounced as a dissyllable; and in verse 12, *voluntari* is pronounced *voluntarje*, four syllables only. But in verse 4, the final syllable of *atque* is not elided before *amavit*. *Martinus* is apparently pronounced *Martinus*, with the penultimate short; and there are several other irregularities.

## X. GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO.

IT may be convenient to give here a translation of the Scholiast's Preface<sup>1</sup>, or Introduction, to this well-known Hymn :—

“ *Gloria in excelsis.* The angels of God sang the first verse of this Hymn on the night of the Lord's Nativity. They made it at the Tower of Gabder,<sup>2</sup> a mile from Jerusalem eastward. To make known that He who was then born was the Son of God they made it. In the time of Octavin Augustus it was composed. But Ambrose made this Hymn, from the second verse to the end of the Hymn.”

From the notice of this Hymn in the fourth Council of Toledo (A. D. 633), it would seem that the author or authors of it were then unknown: the Council (can. 13), speaking of those who at that time objected to the use of all hymns of human composition, say: “Respuant ergo et illum hymnum ab hominibus compositum, quem quotidie publico privatoque officio in fine omnium psalmodicimus, *Gloria et honor Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto, in secula seculorum, Amen.* Nam et ille hymnus quem nato in carne Christo Angeli cecinerunt, *Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis*; et reliqua quæ ibi sequuntur ecclesiastici Doctores composuerunt.” As Hilary and Ambrose had been mentioned just before as the authors of hymns (see above, p. 149), it is not likely that the Council would have spoken thus, if either of those Fathers had been then reputed the author of this Hymn.

It is most commonly attributed to St. Hilary<sup>3</sup>, of Poitiers, and is entitled, “Hymnus S. Hilarii ad Missam” in the *Cod. Vatic.* 5729 (an ancient MS. of

<sup>1</sup> *Preface.*—Another version of this Preface will be found in Addit. Note A at the end of this Hymn.

<sup>2</sup> *The Tower of Gabder.*—See Additional Note B.

<sup>3</sup> *To St. Hilary.*—Some have made Pope Telesphorus (A. D. 150) the author (as Rhabanus, Amalarius, Walafrius Strabo, &c.), misunderstanding, as it would seem, the words of the *Liber Pontificalis*, where Telesphorus is

the Hieronymian Bible). But as this Hymn was in use as a morning hymn (προσευχὴ ἑωθινή) in the Greek Church<sup>4</sup>, and is found in a Greek dress in the Apostolical Constitutions (lib. vii. c. 47), Cardinal Thomasius<sup>5</sup> suggests, with great probability, that St. Hilary was only the translator, and that he had been instrumental in bringing it into use in the Western Church: "Forte hic primus hymnum hunc Latinum fecit, primusque ex Oriente in Occidentem invexit."

The Editor has found no authority except that of the Scholiast of the Book of Hymns, now before us, for attributing this Hymn to St. Ambrose. The reasons already given for supposing it more ancient than St. Hilary are of equal force against the opinion that St. Ambrose was the author<sup>6</sup>.

said to have appointed this Hymn, or rather, perhaps, only the first verse of it, to be sung on the night of Christmas: "Ut Hymnus Angelicus in nocte Nativitatis Domini diceretur." It is remarkable that in the Liturgy of St. James only the words of the angels, and not the remainder of the Hymn, are to be found. —J. A. Fabricii, *Cod. Apocr. N. T.*, pt. iii. tom. ii. p. 64; and so also in the *Ordo Missæ* for Christmas Day, in the *Missale Gothicum*, published by Mabillon, *De Liturg. Gallicana*, pt. iii. p. 192. But Alcuin, Honorius Augustodunensis, Hugo de St. Victore, and many others, maintain that Hilary was the author.

<sup>4</sup> *Greek Church*.—See Ussher, *De Symbolis* (Works by Elrington, vol. vii. p. 335). It is called in the Greek Church ἡ μεγάλη ἑορτολογία, "the great Doxology" (Goar. *Rituale Græcor.*, p. 54-58). In the Codex Alexandrinus (Edit. Baber, vol. iii. 569) this Hymn is entitled ὕμνος ἑωθινός; and in the Vatican MS., 5729, "Hymnus Angelorum" (Card. Thomasii, *Psalter. Opp.* ed. A. F. Vezzosi, Rom., 1748, tom. iii. p. 616). See also Cave, *Hist. Liter.*, vol. ii., Dissert. ii. p. 28, voc. ἑωθινός, Oxon., fol. 1473.

<sup>5</sup> *Thomasius*.—*Psalter.*, *Opp.*, loc. cit.; and so Alcuin speaks of the *Gloria in excelsis* as having been "auctus et consummatus" by St. Hilary. Quoted by Mabillon, *De Liturg. Gallic.*, p. 29.

<sup>6</sup> *The author*.—Mention is made of this Hymn in the Treatise *De Virginitate*, published among the works of St. Athanasius (tom. ii., Ed. Bened.); and if that tract were genuine, this would be a strong argument against the opinion that the Hymn was of Latin origin, or that it had either St. Hilary or St. Ambrose for its author. For the Tract *De Virginitate* speaks of the Hymn as used in the morning, or near morning (πρὸς ὄρθρον), by an established custom; which it could scarcely have been in the time of Athanasius, if Hilary or Ambrose had been the author. However, although Bellarmine, Nat. Alexander, and other learned men, have upheld the genuineness of the treatise *De Virginitate*, there is now scarcely any one who does not acquiesce in the judgment of the Benedictine editors, that it cannot be an authentic work of St. Athanasius.—See Oudin., *De Scripturis*, tom. 1. p. 340.





GLORIA IN EXCELSIS. Angeli dei cecinerunt primum uerbum huius cmmi in nocte dominicæ natiuitatis. Ic tur sabber imorro do nonpat .i. mile o hierupalem paip. do faillygub imorro conno mace de in ti po genap ann do nonpat he. In amrip octaufn augupci do nonab. Ambropiur autem pecit hunc cmmum a pecundo uerpu urque ad pinem cmmi.



GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO ET IN TERRA PAX  
HOMINIBUS BONÆ VOLUNTATIS

LAUDAMUS TE BENEDICIMUS TE ADORAMUS TE  
GLORIFICAMUS TE MAGNIFICAMUS TE

GRATIAS AGIMUS TIBI PROPTER MAGNAM MISERICORDIAM TUAM

DOMINE REX CELESTIS DEUS PATER OMNIPOTENS

DOMINE FILI UNIGENITE IESU CHRISTE  
SANCTE SPIRITUS DEI ET OMNES DICIMUS AMEN

GLOSS.—1. *In excelsis*.—i. in celis. *In terra*.—i. in ecclesia sancta. 2. *Bonæ voluntatis*.—i. eis qui nullunt [nolunt] deum offendere sed placere cogitatione et uerbo et opere. 3. *Laudamus*.—i. [in uita] hac nostra vel in teorica uita. *Benedicimus*.—i. . . . . actuali uita. *Adoramus*.—i. subiectione corporis et animæ, i. totis uiribus. 4. *Glorificamus*.—i. coram Deo Patre. *Magnificamus*.—i. coram hominibus bono opere.

1. *Gloria*.—For a translation of the Preface, see above, p. 177.

4. *Magnificamus te*.—Omitted in the text of this Hymn as now used.

5.—*Misericordiam*.—An ancient hand has written in the margin *Gloriam*.

6.—*Domine rex*.—"Domine Deus rex" is the reading now.

7.—*Domine fili*.—The present text is

"Domine Fili unigenite Jesu Christe, Domine Deus, Agnus Dei, Filius Patris. Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis. Qui tollis peccata mundi suscipe deprecationem nostram. Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, miserere nobis. Quoniam tu solus sanctus, tu solus Dominus, tu solus altissimus, Jesu Christe, cum sancto Spiritu in gloria Dei Patris. Amen."

**D**omine fili dei patris agne dei qui tollis peccata mundi  
miserere nobis. 10

**S**uscipe orationem nostram qui sedes ad dexteram patris  
miserere nobis domine.

**Q**uoniam tu solus sanctus tu solus dominus tu solus  
gloriosus cum spiritu sancto in gloria dei patris amen

**I**n omni tempore benedicimus te et laudamus 15  
nomen tuum in aeternum et in seculum seculi amen

**D**ignare domine nocte ista  
sine peccato nos custodire

**B**enedictus es domine deus patrum nostrorum et laudabile  
et gloriosum nomen tuum in aeternum et in seculum se-  
culi amen. 20

**D**omine deus salutis meae  
in die clamaui et nocte coram te

GLOSS.—13. *Tu solus.*—i. per temetipsum. 15. *In omni tempore.*—i. in prosperis et in adversis.  
16. *Nomen.*—i. filium tuum. 17. *Nocte.*—i. hujus seculi. 18. *Peccato.*—i. sine mortali crimine.  
19. *Patrum.*—i. patriarcharum et apostolorum. 20. *In seculum.*—i. hic et in futuro. 22. *In die.*—  
i. in prosperis. *Nocte.*—i. in tenebris seculi hujus.

15. *In omni tempore.*—What follows is an addition, of the nature of an antiphon, like the similar additions at the end of the foregoing Hymns; but in this case it is written in the same characters as the text. The verse *In omni tempore* is added to this Hymn in the copy of it printed by Cardinal Thomasius from the Ambrosian Breviary (*Psalter. Opp., ubi supr.*, p. 613), but with the variation, “per singulos dies [instead of “in omni tempore”] benedicimus te,” which is the reading of the modern Vulgate, Ps. cxliv. 2.

17. *Dignare.*—This verse is found also

in the Ambrosian copy of this Hymn (Thomas., *loc. cit.*), and is also usually incorporated in the *Te Deum*, but with the reading *die isto*, instead of *nocte ista*, as above. This peculiarity of the Irish copy seems to show that in the ancient Church of Ireland the Hymn was used at night; a fact which is expressly stated to have been the case, in another copy of the preface, which will be given in Note A, from the *Leabhar Breac*.

18. *Sine peccato.*—Sine peccatis. Thomas., *loc. cit.*

19. *Benedictus.*—Dan. iii. 26, *Fulg.*

**I**N TRET ORATIO mea IN CONSPECTU tuo  
INCLINA aurem tuam ad precem meam domine

**S**CUTO CIRCUMDABIT te ueritas eius  
NON timebis a timore nocturno

25

GLOSS.—24. *Precem.*—i. quia in hoc corpore possitus fundo . . . . . 25. *Scuto.*—i. licet in errore fuimus quando nox est, non timebis quia habes scutum ueritatis. 26. *Timebis.*—i. a tenebrosa satione inimicorum.

21. *Domine Deus.*—This and the next clause are from Ps. lxxxvii. 2, 3, *Vulg.*

25. *Scuto.*—This clause is from Ps. xc. 4, 5, *Vulg.*

26. *Timebis.*—The gloss over this word seems to use *sasio* for *saisio*, in the sense

of *invasion, attack*, unless we suppose a mistake of transcription for “tenebrosa invasione.” The verb *Saisire* was used by Ivo Carnotensis in the eleventh century, which was, probably, about our scholiast’s time.—See Du Cange.

## ADDITIONAL NOTES.

### NOTE A.

#### *The Scholiast's Preface.*

A TRANSLATION of the Scholiast's Preface has already been given (p. 177, *supra*). There is, however, another copy of this Preface in the marginal notes to the Felire of Aengus in the Leabhar Breac (fol. 49 b, *in marg. inf.*) a MS. belonging to the Royal Irish Academy. This has been probably taken from another copy of the Book of Hymns, and is worth preserving here:—

Gloria in excelsis Deo. Ainigil do pon-  
pat in pepp correch don imanno, oidee na  
geine. hic tor ader imorro do ponpat .i.  
mile o hierusalem pair. Dia foillruigub  
conib mac De intú rogenair and do ponpat  
he. In ainrip hoctaim imorro do ponab  
he. Ambrosiur din do poine in tuilleb .i.  
a pecundo uerpu urque in finem laubir,  
jc.

Ambrosiur fui eppuce ire do poine hunc  
imnum do molab lepu. ocup in oideche ar  
bir a cantain. Tria pichun din do ponab.  
uu. captil mð, ocup .uu. line in cech captil  
ocup .uu. pillaebe cecha line.

*Gloria in excelsis Deo.* The angels made the  
first verse of this Hymn, on the night of the Nati-  
vity: and in the tower of Ader they made it, which  
is a mile from Jerusalem, eastwards. To make  
known that He who was then born was the Son of  
God they made it. And in the time of Octavin  
they made it. But Ambrosius made the remain-  
der, from the second verse to the end of the hymn,  
etc.

Ambrose the learned bishop, it was he who made  
this Hymn in praise of Jesus; and at night it is  
right to sing it. And it is made in rhythm.  
There are seven chapters in it, and seven lines in  
each chapter, and seven syllables in each line.

It will be observed, that in this version of the Preface St. Ambrose is stated to have been the author of the Hymn; and it is also expressly said that it was the usage to sing it at night, which accounts for the alteration *nocte ista* instead of *die isto*, already noticed, p. 180, note. The concluding paragraph, which tells us that the Hymn is in rhythm, consisting of seven chapters, with seven lines in each chapter, and seven syllables in each line, is an evident mistake.



## NOTE B.

*The Tower Gabder, or Gadder.*

MENTION of the Tower *Gadder*<sup>a</sup> has already been made, as the scene of the angelical vision, which appeared to the shepherds on the night of our Lord's Nativity.

This Tower is stated in the Scholium, or Preface to the present Hymn, to have been a mile from Jerusalem; but St. Jerome and Ven. Bede speak of it as a mile from Bethlehem, which accords better with the Gospel narrative. The latter says (*Comment. in Luc.* ii. 8): “Meminit et Micha propheta loci hujus et temporis, dicens, ‘*Et tu turris gregis nebulosa, filiæ Sion usque ad te venient, et veniet potestas prima, regnum filiæ Sion.*’ Turris quippe gregis, quæ Hebraice *Ader* vocatur, mille circiter passibus a civitate Bethleem ad orientem distat, vaticinio sui nominis pastores hos multo ante demonstrans ad quam usque filiæ Sion, angelicæ videlicet potestates, pastoribus apparendo, venerunt.”

St. Jerome, on Gen. xxxv. 21, says: “*Et profectus est Israel, et extendit tabernaculum suum trans turrin Ader.* Hunc locum Hebræi esse volunt ubi postea templum ædificatum est; *et turrin Ader, turrin gregis* significare, hoc est, *congregationis et cætus*; quod et Michaës propheta testatur, dicens, *Et tu turris gregis nebulosa, filiæ Sion*, &c.: illoque tempore Jacob trans locum, ubi postea templum ædificatum est, habuisse tentoria. Sed si sequamur ordinem viæ” [i. e. the order of Jacob's journey] “pastorum juxta Bethleem locus est, ubi vel angelorum grex in ortu Domini cecinit; vel Jacob pecora sua pavit, loco nomen imponens: vel quod verius est, quodam vaticinio futurum jam tunc mysterium monstrabatur.” Here it will be seen that St. Jerome decides rightly that the Tower *Ader*, in Genesis, must, from the tenor of the narrative, have been near Bethlehem, and that the *turris gregis nebulosa*, mentioned in Micah (iv. 8), which the tradition of the Jews supposed to have been the site of the temple, was a different tower, near or in Jerusalem. *Quæst. in Genes.* (*Opp.*, tom. iii., Edit. Vallarsii, Venet., 1767, col. 361, B. C.). In another place, describing the travels or pilgrimage of St. Paula, St. Jerome says: “Haud procul inde” [scil. a Bethlehem] “descendit” [Paula] “ad turrin *Ader*, id est gregis; juxta quam Jacob pavit greges suos, et pastores nocte vigilantes audire meruerunt, *Gloria in excelsis Deo*,” etc. *Epitaph. Paulæ, Epist. cviii. ad Eustochium* (*Opp.*, ubi *supr.*, tom. i. col. 699 D.)

<sup>a</sup> *Gadder*.—In a marginal note on the Hymn attributed to St. Hilary in praise of Christ (No. vii. *supra*), the angels are said to have first worshipped

Christ “juxta turrin *Gadder*.”—See p. 153 (note on line 14). *Gabder* is an erroneous form of the name.

The tradition of the Hebrews, alluded to by St. Jerome, is probably the same as that preserved in the Targum of Jonathan on Gen. xxxv. 21, whose words are:—

ויסע ונטל יעקב ופרס למשכניה	“And Jacob journeyed, and arose, and
להלא למגדלא דעדר אתרא דמתמן	spread his tents beyond the tower of Eder,
עתיד דאתגלי מלכא משיחא בכופ	the place where the King Messiah shall
יומיא	reveal Himself, in the end of days.”

Here it is evident that the *Migdal Eder*, or Tower of Eder, near Bethlehem, is alluded to; for Bethlehem was known to the Jews, even before our Lord's Nativity, as the predicted birthplace of Messiah (Matt. ii. 4-6). But “the place where Messiah shall reveal Himself” was probably taken to signify the Temple, by the Jews who communicated or interpreted this tradition to S. Jerome.

The name מגדל-עדר, Tower of Eder (Gen. xxxv. 21, Mic. iv. 8), signifies *turris gregis*, as it is rendered in the Vulgate Version, and this may, perhaps, have given occasion to the tradition that the place so called near Bethlehem (a watch-tower probably for shepherds) was the place from which the shepherds (Luke ii.) saw the vision of angels, that announced the Nativity. Still it cannot be doubted, from the testimony of St. Jerome, and the words of the Targumist above quoted, that some ancient traditions of the Jews were connected with the place.

But there were certainly two places so called, one near Bethlehem, which, as we have seen, is that mentioned Gen. xxxv. 21; the other in or near Jerusalem, which is evidently the place intended, Mic. iv. 8<sup>b</sup>.

It appears, from the passage above quoted, that Bede had a different reading of this latter text from that of the present Vulgate Version: “Et tu turris gregis nebulosa, filiæ Sion usque ad te veniet” [instead of “Et tu turris gregis nebulosa filiæ Sion, ad te veniet”], which he interprets, “And as for thee, O dark tower of the flock, the daughters of Sion” [i. e. the angels who appeared to the shepherds] “shall come to thee.” Whereas, the Vulgate is, “And thou, O dark tower of the flock of the daughter of Zion, it” [i. e. the kingdom] “shall come to thee.” The English version, following the Masoretic punctuation, which separates עפל (rendered *nebulosa* by the *Vulg.*) from מגדל-עדר, the tower of Edar, is as follows:—“And thou, O tower of the flock” [*Margin*, “O tower of Edar”], “the strong hold of the daughter of Zion, unto thee shall it come, even the first dominion.”

But the accentuation followed by the Septuagint and Vulgate seems more probable, except that we ought, perhaps, to take מגדל-עדר-עפל, *Migdal-Edar-Ophel*, as a proper name, signifying, “the tower of Edar Ophel;” the epithet *Ophel* (*Caliginosa*, *Vulg.*, ἀνυμώδης, LXX., or, as it may be also rendered, “of the hill”),

<sup>b</sup> See Lightfoot, *Chorographical Decad.*, sect. 4, 5 (Works by Pitman, vol. x. p. 221, sq.)

having been, perhaps, added to distinguish it from the Tower of Edar near Bethlehem; so that the meaning will then be: "And thou, O Tower of Edar, of the hill, of the daughter of Zion" [i. e. of Jerusalem], "unto thee shall it come, even the first dominion."

That there was a place, and apparently a fortification, on, or near to, the walls of Jerusalem, which was called *Ophel*, is evident from 2 Chron. xxvii. 3 (where the Hebrew is, "on the wall of the Ophel," בְּחוֹמַת הָעֶפְלָה). Comp. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14, Neh. iii. 27, and xi. 21, where in every case the Masoretic punctuation understands the article, even when it is not expressed in the letters. And so Josephus, *De Bello Jud.*, lib. vi. c. 6, § 3, speaks of this place, τὸν Ὀφλᾶν καλούμενον ὑψηλῶς; so that it seems to have retained its name down to the latest period of Jewish history.—See Reland. *Palæst.*, p. 855, who infers that Ophel was not a hill, from its not having been so called by Josephus. On the other hand, one of the most recent authorities on the geography of the Holy Land interprets the word "a swelling mound," from עֶפְלָה, to swell. Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, App., § 26, p. 490.

It should be observed, in conclusion, that the Septuagint translators, in Gen. xxxv., transpose the mention of Migdal Edar, and make Jacob to have encamped there before, not after, he came to the place where Rachel died: they have, in fact (if the present text be correct) inserted ver. 21 after the word *Bethel* in ver. 16; and they render it ἐπηξεν τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ πύργου Γαδέρ.

It was, probably, from the Septuagint, or from some Ante-Hieronymian Latin version founded on the Septuagint, that our Scholiast copied his spelling of the name *Turris Gadder* (p. 153, note); for "the Tower of *Gabder*," in the Preface to the present Hymn, is evidently a corruption of *Gadder*. But in the Preface, as given in the *Leabhar Breac* (see Note A, p. 182, *supra*) it is called "the tower *Ader*," as in the modern Latin Vulgate.

## XI. THE MAGNIFICAT, OR HYMN OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

THERE is no need of any prefatory remarks to introduce to the reader the following well-known Hymn, which is taken from St. Luke, i. 46-55, and has formed a part of the service of the Church for at least a thousand years.

The following is a literal translation of the Scholiast's Preface, which is, as usual, in a mixture of Latin and Irish :—

*Magnificat.* Mary, the Mother of the Lord, made this Hymn; and it was in the time of Octavianus Augustus she made it; for in the forty-second year of his empire Christ was born; and it was in a certain mountain city of the mountains<sup>1</sup> of the tribe of Judah in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem; and this was the peculiar city of Zacharias. There John Baptist was born; and it was to that city that Mary came to visit Elizabeth, when she heard that she was pregnant, i. e. in the sixth month<sup>2</sup>. And it was there that speech was restored to Zacharias, and that he composed the *Benedictus*; and it was then that she composed the *Magnificat*. And this was the cause<sup>3</sup>, viz., Mary came to visit Elizabeth the wife of Zacharias, because she heard that she was pregnant after a very long barrenness; for all her relations were visiting her. Therefore Mary entering the door of her house, Elizabeth said, whilst the babe moved in her womb, Behold the mother of my Lord hath come to me. And for this reason they say that John prophesied before he was born; and then Mary said, *Magnificat*; and at that time Mary conceived her Son.

There is a copy of this Preface in the marginal notes to the Felire of Aengus in the Leabhar Breac (fol. 49, b, in marg. *inf.*), but it is so nearly identical with that here given, that it has not been thought worth while to transcribe it. The variations are little more than differences of spelling, or the use of Irish for Latin, and *vice versâ*.

<sup>1</sup> *Of the mountains.*—See St. Luke, i. 39.

<sup>2</sup> *Sixth month.*—St. Luke, i. 36.

<sup>3</sup> *The cause.*—i. e. the occasion on which the Hymn was composed.





**MAGNIFICAT.** Maria mater domini fecit hunc cōmnum. In tempore uero octauiani augurci fecit. in .xl. mo enim secundo anno imperii eius christus natus est. oculus ipse in arabe cathraiz phabba hi tpeib iuda hi pail hierusalem, oculus ipse pede cathrip diler zachar. ibi iohannes baptiza natus est, et ipse don cathraizreim tanc maire do þir elizabeth in tan atchuala a bith alačta .i. ipse t-pered mfr. Oculi ipse in do patader labna do zachar et ipse in te do pone zachar benedicatur, et ipse in te do ponat Magnificat. **IS** E moipio in pochuñd .i. maire tanc do þir elizabeth petche zachar, ap it chuala a bith toppach pozt longiprimam pterilitatem. Omnes enim cognati eius uisitant. Interant ergo maria hortium domus puae elizabeth dixit cum motatione inuicem in utero suo, En mater domini uenit ad me et ob id dicunt iohannem prophetare antequam natus esset. et tunc maria dixit magnificat, et in hoc tempore filium suum maria concepit.



**MAGNIFICAT** anima mea dominum  
et exultauit spiritus meus in deo salu-  
tari meo

**Q**uia respexit humilitatem ancillae suae  
ecce enim ex hoc beatam me dicent  
omnes generationes

**Gloss.**—1. *Anima.*—Ejus anima dominum magnificat qui omnes interioris hominis affectus diuinis laudibus ac seruitiis mancipat. 2. *Salutari.*—i. ut dicit psalmista Anima mea exultabit Deo et dilectabitur super salutari suo. 3. *Humilitatem.*—i. uirginitatem.

1. *Magnificat.*—A translation of the Preface has already been given, p. 186.

3. *Humilitatem.*—Under and over this line, in the form of a gloss, is the following note from Bede: “.i. Cujus humilitas respicitur recte ab omnibus beata cognominanda gratulatur, sicut e contrario superbia dispecta condemnatur Evæ. Ita sicut

intravit mors in mundum per superbiam Evæ, per humilitatem Mariæ vitæ panditur introitus humano generi.” It is remarkable that the erroneous interpretation of the name of Eve, which occurs in this passage, as now printed by the editors of Bede, is here omitted. The words following “condemnatur Evæ” in the printed



Quia fecit mihi magna qui potens est  
et sanctum nomen eius 5

et misericordia eius in progenies et progenies  
timentibus eum

Fecit potentiam in brachio suo  
disperxit superbos mente cordis sui 10

Deposuit potentes de sede  
et exaltauit humiles

Esurientes impleuit bonis  
et diuites demisit inanes

Suscepit israel puerum suum 15  
memorare misericordiae suae

Gloss.—7. *Progenies*.—i. in omni gente qui timet eum et operatur iusticiam. 9. *Potentiam*.—i. quia omnia per filium Dei patris facta sunt, ideo eum brachium domini dicitur [*sic*]. 10. *Superbos*.—i. filios diaboli quia initium est omnis peccati superbia. 11. *Potentes*.—i. confidentes in uirtute sua. *De sede*.—i. superbiæ. 12. *Humiles*.—i. qui dicunt cum apostolo omnia possumus in Christo. 13.—*Esurientes*.—i. satiabuntur perfecti quia eterna bona esuriunt. *Bonis*.—i. celestibus. 14. *Diuites*.—i. qui de terrenis diuitiis superbiunt inanes totius beatitudinis demittentur a domino in die iudicii. 15. *Suscepit*.—i. Deus.

editions are, "id est vae, sive calamitatis nomine mulcata tabescit." But the reading of our MS. is, probably, correct, and these words are the addition of some ignorant transcriber, not of Bede.—*Comment. in Luc. i.* (*Opp.* ed. Giles, x. p. 295).

6. *Sanctum nomen*.—Over this line is the following note from Bede: "Sanctum nomen ejus vocatur quia singularis culmine potentiae transcendit omnem creaturam." The printed editions of Bede read *potenti*, but "potentiae" is certainly better. The Gloss as given above on lines 7 and 8 is also from Bede.

7. *In progenies*.—"A progenie in progenies" (*Vulg.*); but "in progenies et pro-

genies," was the reading of Bede.

10. *Superbos*.—In the margin there is this note: "Commemorat hic beata Maria quomodo per omne labentis seculi tempus Creator justus ac misericors et superbis resistere et humilibus dare gratiam consuevit." This is, no doubt, from some ancient author. *Disperxit*.—Dispersit.—*Vulg.*

15. *Suscepit*.—In the margin is the following note from Bede: "Bene autem Domini et Johannis exortum matres profetando praeueniunt, ut sicut peccatum a mulieribus coepit, ita etiam bona a mulieribus incipiant, et quae per unius deceptionem periit, duabus certatim praeconan-

Sicut locutus est ad patres nostros  
Abraham et semini eius usque in seculum

---

Que maria plena gratia dominus tecum, benedicta tu inter  
mulieres ⁊ benedictus fructus ventris tui. Spiritus sanctus  
pupervenerit in te ⁊ super altissimi obumbrabit tibi

GLOSS.—17. *Ad patres.*—i. ad patriarchas. 18. *Semini.*—i. non carnale sed spiritale semen significat .i. filiis promissionis in Christo.

tibus mundo vita reddatur.”—*Comm. in Luc. i. 55.*

16. *Memorare.*—Recordatus, *Vulg.* Bede reads *Memorari*, and the Ante-Hieron. version (ap. Sabatier) has *memoria*.

18. *Semini.*—The gloss on this word is

from Bede. *Usque.*—Omitted in *Vulg.*, and in the Ante-Hieron. version edited by Sabatier from the MS. Colbert.

*Ave Maria.*—This is in the more angular character, already frequently spoken of, but by the original scribe.

## XII. THE BENEDICTUS, OR HYMN OF ZACHARIAS.

THIS celebrated Hymn is taken from St. Luke i. 67-79; but the text differs both from the Ante-Hieronymian version and the modern Vulgate. Some of the more remarkable variations are given in the Notes. The Scholiast's Preface is in Latin, without any admixture of Irish. It may be thus translated :—

*Benedictus Dominus.* Zacharias, the father of John Baptist, made this Hymn (*hanc laudem*) to the Lord. And he made it in the time of Octavianus Augustus. The cause was this: Zacharias once on a time entered the temple to sacrifice for the people, after the manner of a priest, because he was born of the seed of Aaron, and of the course<sup>1</sup> of Abia in particular. It was the lot of his week; for from the time of David the priests were divided into twenty-four different courses<sup>2</sup>, and each one exercised his ministry from Sabbath to Sabbath. For from the time of Aaron to David one succeeded the other<sup>3</sup>. Zacharias<sup>4</sup> then, entering the temple, to make an offering for himself and for the people, looking to the right, saw the angel Gabriel sitting at the horn of the altar, who said to him, Fear not, for I have come not to bring thee fear, but joy. For Elizabeth shall bring forth unto thee a son, and he shall be called John, and he shall be great before God and men. And Zacharias said, How shall this be, seeing we have passed the time for having children? The angel answered, If a man were to promise thee this, thou mightest doubt his word; but I am an angel of God, and I stand in His presence, and I bring unto thee His words; and thou oughtest not to doubt what I have said; and, therefore, from this day until the boy is born, thou shalt not speak. And so it was, until that which was promised had been fulfilled. For Elizabeth conceived and bare a son, and the kinsmen inquired of his mother concerning the name of the boy, and his mother answered, He shall be called John; but others, contradicting, said that he should be called after the name of his father. But Elizabeth bade them ask his father to write the name of his son. Zacharias, therefore, being so called upon, spoke and said<sup>5</sup>, The boy shall be called John: and immediately he praised the Lord, saying, *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel.*

<sup>1</sup> *Course*.—"De vice [i. e. de vice] Abia." Luc. i. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Courses*.—"Intercognitiones." The Vulg. uses the word *rices*. 1 Paral. xxiv. 19.

<sup>3</sup> *The other*.—"Unus post unum tenebat."

<sup>4</sup> *Zacharias*.—In the original "Stacharias."

—See p. 78, note on line 31, *supra*.

<sup>5</sup> *Spoke and said*.—This varies from the Gospel narrative. It is curious that in the Book of Armagh the scribe had originally written *dirit*, but erased that word, and substituted "*scripsit dicens*."



**BENEDICTUS DOMINUS.** Zachariar pater iohannis baptista fecit hanc laudem domino. In tempore uero octauiani augusti fecit. Causa autem aliquando ptachariar in templum ut immolaret populo more sacerdotali intrauit. quia de femine aaron ⁊ de uoce abia ppecialiter natus est. Porro eius septimanae fuit. A tempore enim dauid sacerdotium in xxiiii intercoognitiones diuerpar diuisum est. ⁊ a sabbato usque ad sabbatum unusquisque ministerio suo utebatur. A tempore enim aaron usque ad dauid unus porro unus tenebat. Intrap epso ptachariar in templum ut pro se ⁊ populo offerret arpienr in dexteram angelum gabrielem rebentem in cornu altaris uidit ⁊ dicentem tibi Noli timere quia non ad timorem tibi arpiendum sed ad gaudium ueni. Elisabeth enim pariet tibi filium ⁊ uocabitur iohannes ⁊ magnus erit coram deo ⁊ hominibus. ⁊ ptachariar dixit quomodo fiet hoc quoniam ppterimierit nos tempus parienti. Angelus perponit, Si homo tibi hoc promitteret deber uerba eius dubitare, ego uero angelus dei sum, ⁊ conpito in pperencia eius, ⁊ uerba eius tibi porro, ⁊ non deber dubitare que dixi. ⁊ ob id ab hac die usque puer natus est non loqueris. ⁊ ita factum est, donec impletum est quod promissum est. Concepit enim elisabeth ⁊ peperit filium, et cognati de nomine pueri matrem eius interrogabant. ⁊ perponit mater eius iohannes uocetur. alii uero contradicenter dicebant nomine patris uocetur. Elisabeth autem dixit ut rogarent patrem ut peribat nomen filii sui. Zachariar uero ita rogatur locutus est ⁊ dixit, uocetur puer iohannes. ⁊ continuo laudauit dominum dicendo benedictus dominus deus israel.



**BENEDICTUS** dominus deus israel

quia uisitauit et fecit redemptionem plebis  
suae

**E**t erexit cornu salutis nobis  
in domu dauid pueri sui

Gloss.—2. *Visitauit*.—i. plebem hanc visitando suam esse fecit; quia sua fidei sublimitate eam perfecit. 3. *Cornu*.—i. cornu salutis, firmam celsitudinem salutis dieit, cornu excedit carnem, et ideo cornu salutis regnum saluatoris christi uocatur.

1. *Benedictus*.—For a translation of the Preface, see last page. The Gloss has been taken altogether from Bede's

Commentary on St. Luke, cap. i., although the text of the Hymn does not agree with that given in the printed works



Sicut locutus est per os sanctorum  
 profetarum suorum qui ab ævo sunt 5

Ut liberauit nos ab inimicis nostris  
 et de manu omnium qui nos oderunt

Ad faciendam misericordiam cum patribus nostris  
 et memorare testamenti sui sancti 10

Iurandum quod iurauit ad abraham  
 patrem nostrum daturum se nobis

Ut sine timore de manibus inimicorum nostrorum  
 liberati seruiamus illi

In sanctitate et iustitia coram ipso  
 omnibus diebus nostris 15

Et tu puer profeta altissimi uocaberis  
 præcabis enim ante faciem domini parare vias eius

GLOSS.—6. *Profetarum*.—Profetæ specialiter appellati sunt, qui de aduentu Christi manifeste sunt locuti. *Ab ævo*.—i. ab initio. 7. *Liberavit*.—i. filius Dei. 8. *De manu*.—i. de potestate. *Omnium*.—i. inimicorum. *Qui nos oderunt*.—i. homines perversos et immundos spiritus significat. De manu quorum et interim spe salvi facti sumus et in futuro reipsa salvandi. 10. *Testamenti*.—i. disposuit Deus testamentum nos esse liberaturum de semine patriarcharum. 11. *Ad Abraham*.—i. fides gentium et sacrosanctus ecclesiæ cultus est promissus Abrahæ, Domino ad eum dicente, In te benedicentur omnes gentes terræ. Dixit Dominus ad David, Cum impleveris dies tuos, ut vadas ad patres tuos, suscitabo semen tuum, et ego ero ei in patrem, et ipse erit mihi in filium, ipse ædificabit mihi domum. 15. *In sanctitate*.—i. ostendit hic profeta quomodo Domino serviendum est, in sanctitate videlicet et iustitia. 17. *Altissimi*.—i. audiant mansueti quod Christum Dominum quem Johannes profetando præcibit altissimum vocat. 18. *Præcabis*.—i. in vitam et mortem. *Parare*.—i. ut dixit parate viam Domini rectas facite semitas Domini nostri. *Vias eius*.—i. Christi.

of that writer. It seems unnecessary to occupy space by pointing out these variations, or the abridgments and omissions in Bede's Commentary, necessary to reduce it to an interlinear gloss: any reader who has access to Bede can make this comparison for himself.

6. *Ab ævo*.—"Qui a seculo sunt profetarum ejus."—*Vulg.*

7. *Et liberavit*.—This is the reading of the Ante-Hieronymian version, instead of "salutem ex inimicis nostris," as in the modern Vulgate.—See Sabatier, *in loc.*

10. *Memorare*.—For "memorari." Here our MS. has the reading of the modern Vulg. The old version was "et memoratus est."

13. *De manibus*.—"De manu."—*Vulg.*

AD DANDAM SCIENTIAM SALUTIS PLEBI EIUS  
IN REMISSIONEM PECCATORUM EORUM

20

PER UISCERA MISERICORDIÆ DEI NOSTRI  
IN QUIBUS VISITAVIT NOS ORIENS EX ALTO

ILLUMINARE HIS QUI IN TENEBRIS ET UMBRA MORTIS SEDENT  
AD DIRIGENDOS PEDES NOSTROS IN VIA PACIS

Puer autem crepescbat et conportabatur in spiritu et  
erat in desertis locis usque ad diem ostensionis pueri ad  
Ippael.

GLOSS.—19. *Scientiam*.—i. futuram. 22. *Oriens*.—i. Ecce vir, inquit profeta, oriens nomen eius, qui ideo recte oriens vocatur, qui nobis ortum veræ lucis aperiens, filios noctis et tenebrarum lucis effecit filios. 23. *Illuminare his*.—i. his qui in peccatis et ignorantie cecitate vixerunt, agnitionis amorisque sui radios infundere. 24. *Pedes nostros*.—Pedes nostri in viam pacis diriguntur cum actionum nostrarum iter per omnia redemptoris nostri gratiæ concordat.

*Puer autem*.—i. predicator penitentiae futurus, optimum est ut solitudinis aspera sequatur.

17. *Altissimi*.—In the gloss on this word the allusion to the Arians in Bede is omitted. Bede's words are: "Audiant sane Arriani, et erubescant; audiant sane mansueti, et lætentur, quod Christum Dominum quem Johannes prophetando præibat, Altissimum vocat." The allusion is to Ps. xxxiii. 3, *Vulg.*

22. *Oriens*.—The Gloss refers to Zeeh. vi. 12; and is taken from Bede on Luc. i. 78.

23. *Sedent*.—Here our MS. follows the

modern Vulg. The old version was, "qui in tenebris sunt, et in umbra mortis sedentibus."

24. *In via*.—In viam. *Vulg.*

*Puer autem*.—This verse, which is from St. Luke, i. 80, is in the smaller character. It differs from the modern Vulg. in reading "*in spiritu*" for *spiritu*; and "*desertis locis*" for *desertis*: but agrees with it in reading "*ostensionis*" instead of "*progressionis*," as in the older version. See Sabatier, *in loc.*

## XIII. TE DEUM LAUDAMUS.

THIS celebrated Hymn has no Preface, like the other Hymns in this volume, if we except the short title, “Hæc est Laus Sanctæ Trinitatis quam Augustinus sanctus, et Ambrosius composuit.”

This is an evident allusion to the legend, that the hymn was composed at the baptism of St. Augustine, one verse being uttered by him, and the next, alternately, by St. Ambrose, who baptized him. The earliest authority for this story is believed to be the Chronicle once attributed to Dacius, Bishop of Milan, A. D. 527, but now known to be of a much later date, inasmuch as it carries on the history to A.D. 1067 (*vid. Cave, Hist. Liter., sub Dacio*, tom. i. p. 511, Oxon. 1740). But from the allusion to it here, it appears that the story was more widely known at that period, and had found its way to Ireland.

Abbo of Fleuri<sup>1</sup> attributes the authorship of the *Te Deum* without hesitation to St. Hilary of Poitiers. He calls it “Dei palinodia, quam composuit Hilarius Pictaviensis episcopus,” and suggests that the reading *suscepisti* (which must, therefore, have been ancient, and which, it will be observed, is the reading of our MS.) is erroneous; for he says it ought to be, “Tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem,” &c. Accordingly, this has ever since been, or at least is now, the received reading, although it is very doubtful whether the old *suscepisti* was not better. See note on the passage, p. 197, line 23, *infra*.

Archbishop Ussher appears to have had in his possession a copy of the Irish Book of Hymns, in which the *Te Deum* was ascribed to one Nicetas<sup>2</sup>;

<sup>1</sup> *Abbo of Fleuri*.—Quoted by the Bened. editors of St. Hilary's works, *Pref.*, p. vii. n. 22. The passage occurs in the “Prologus in Abbonis libellum de Grammatica,” written by Abbo in the form of a letter on the occasion of his mission to England, A. D. 985,

and addressed to the English monks of his order. It is published by Mabillon, *Annal.*, lib. xlix. n. 69, tom. iv. p. 29, and *Append.* p. 687.

<sup>2</sup> *Nicetas*.—See above, p. 9; and Ussher's Works, by Elrington. vii. 300.

and he adds that, in a Gallican Psalter<sup>3</sup>, then in the Cotton Library, written about the time of Henry I. (A.D. 1100), it is attributed to St. Nicetius, who may, perhaps, be the Bishop of Treves (A.D. 541), or the Bishop of Lyons of the same name (A.D. 570), or some other, but probably the same to whom the Irish authority attributed it under the name of Nicetas.

An excellent summary of what has been written on the question of the authorship of this Hymn will be found in the notes of Meratus to the *Thesaur. Sacror. Rituum* of Barth. Gavantus, *Aug. Vind.*, 1763, fol., tom. ii. p. 162, sq. See also Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnol.*, vol. ii. p. 279, sq.

In the Antiphony of Bangor the *Te Deum* is entitled, "Hymnus in die Dominico." The readings of this MS., as edited by Muratori, are marked B. in the following Notes.

<sup>3</sup> *Psalter*.—"In Latino-Gallico quoque psalterio, circa tempore Henrici I. exarato inscribitur iste hymnus Sancti Niceti (Hibernicæ nostræ traditioni satis consentaneæ) sive Tre-

verensis hic intelligendus fuerit Nicetius sive Lugdunensis, sive quis alius."—*Ibid.* This Psalter no longer exists in the remains of the Cotton Library in the British Museum.



hec est laus sanctae Trinitatis quam Augustinus sanctus et Ambrosius composuit.



LAUDATE PUERI DOMINUM  
LAUDATE NOMEN DOMINI

Te deum laudamus  
te dominum confitemur

Te aeternum patrem  
omnis terra ueneratur

5

Tibi omnes angeli  
tibi caeli et uniuersae potestates

Tibi hiruphim et seraphim  
incessabili uoce proclamant dicentes  
sanctus sanctus sanctus dominus deus sabaoth

10

pleni sunt caeli et uniuersa terra  
honore gloriae tuae

Gloss.—3. *Laudamus*.—i. ore, vel opere. 4. *Confitemur*.—i. corde. 11. *Sanctus*.—i. sanctus ter dicitur, quia unus et trinus est deus. 12. *Uniuersa terra*.—i. aeclesia per quadratum orbem defusa non desinit laudare et orare deum.

1. *Laudate*.—This verse prefixed to the *Te Deum* is from Ps. cxii. 1., *Vulg.* It occurs also in B.

7. *Hiruphim*.—In the margin there is the following note: "Sciendum est quod hiruphim et saraphim per .m. litteram prolata iuxta proprietatem linguae ebraeae masculini sunt et pluralis numeri tantum.

Si autem per .m. litteram dicantur graeca sunt et neutri generis, et pluralis numeri." In B. we have "Cherubim et Seraphim;" but Muratori has everywhere altered the orthography of the MS.

10. *Dicentes*.—Om. B. and *Vulg.* But it is found in the Vat. MS. 82, cited by Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnol.*, ii. p. 298.



**T**e gloriosus apostolorum chorus  
te prophetarum laudabilis numerus

15

**T**e martirum candidatus laudat exercitus  
te per orbem terrarum sancta confitetur ecclesia

**P**atrem immensae maiestatis tuae  
venerandum tuum verum et unigenitum filium

**S**anctum quoque paracletum spiritum  
tu rex gloriae christe

20

**T**u patris sempiternus es filius  
tu ad liberandum mundum suscepisti hominem

**N**on horruisti virginis uterum  
tu devicto mortis aculeo  
aperuisti credentibus regna caelorum

25

Gloss.—14. *Apostolorum*.—i. misorum. 15. *Profetarum*.—i. providentium. 16. *Martirum*.—i. fidelium.

12. *Universa terra*.—B. also reads *universa*; but the word is omitted in the Vulgate text of this Hymn.

13. *Honore*.—So also B. The common text has *Majestatis*.

18. *Tuae*.—Om. B. *Tuae* is omitted also in the Vulgate text of this Hymn.

19. *Unigenitum*.—The Vulgate text is *unicum*. But B., as also the *Cod. Thomasii Alex.*, cited by Daniel, *ubi supr.*, read *unigenitum*. B. omits *et*.

23. *Tu ad liberandum*.—The common reading is, “Tu, ad liberandum suscepturus hominem,” which is rendered in the Prayer-Book of the Anglican Church, “When Thou tookest upon Thee to deliver man.” But “ad liberandum suscepturus hominem” would seem rather to

mean, “when Thou wast about to take upon Thee man [i. e. human nature], for the purpose of deliverance, Thou didst not abhor,” &c. Perhaps the translators of the English Prayer-Book may have intended the insertion of a parenthesis, “when Thou tookest upon Thee (to deliver) man, Thou didst not abhor,” &c. But it would be very difficult to make this intelligible in reading. Some of the old English versions which we find in the Primers of the fifteenth century appear to have omitted *suscepturus*, for they read, “Thou wert not skoymous [squeamish] of the maydens womb to delyuer mankind.”—Maskell, *Mon. Rit. Eccl. Anglie.*, vol. ii. p. 14. Others seem to have connected *suscepturus* and *virginis uterum*, “Thou

Tu ad dexteram dei sedes in gloria patris  
iudex crederis esse venturus

Tu ergo quæssimus nobis tuis famulis subueni  
quos pretioso sanguine redemisti

30

Eternam pac cum sanctis tuis gloriam munerari  
saluum pac populum tuum domine  
et benedic hereditati tue  
et rege eos et extolle illos usque in seculum

Gloss.—32. *Populum*.—i. christianum. 33. *Hereditati*.—i. ecclesiae. 34. *Rege*.—i. in bonis operibus. *Extolle*.—i. defende. *In seculum*.—i. in uita aeterna.

wert noȝt skoymes to take the maiden es wombe, for to deliver mankynde.”—*Ibid.*, p. 231. In the Primer of 1535, as edited by Dr. Burton (*Three Primers put forth in the Reign of Henry VIII.*, Oxford, 1834, p. 82), this verse is thus rendered: “Thou (when Thou shouldest take upon Thee our nature to deliver man) didst not abhor the virgin’s womb.” It appears from these discrepancies that there was anciently a difficulty in the interpretation of this passage.—Comp. Daniel, *Thesaur. Hymnol.*, ii. 299. But our MS. agrees with B., inserting the word *mundum*, and giving *suscepisti* for *suscepturus*. These readings remove all difficulty, and are very probably the true text: “Thou tookest upon Thee man to deliver the world; Thou didst not abhor the Virgin’s womb: Having overcome the sting of death, Thou didst open the kingdom of heaven to believers.”

27. *Sedes*.—This is the modern reading. But B. has *sedens*, which is better. *In gloria patris*.—It is doubtful whether

the construction should be *sedes* [*sedens*] in *gloria Patris*—“Thou sittest at the right hand of God in the glory of the Father,” or, in *gloria Patris iudex venturus*, “We believe that Thou shalt come, in the glory of the Father, to be our Judge.”

29. *Tu*.—Te, B., which is also the modern text. *Nobis*.—Omitted in Vulg. text. But B. reads *nobis*. *Quæssimus*.—For Quæsumus.

31. *Eternam fac*.—The common text, as given in the Roman Breviary, and translated in the English Prayer-Book, is, “Æterna fac cum sanctis tuis in gloria numerari,” “Make them to be numbered with thy saints, in glory everlasting.” But B. and all copies of the *Te Deum* which I have seen in any MS. older than the sixteenth century, have, “Eterna fac cum sanctis tuis [B. omits *tuis*] gloria *munerari*,” or “in [or cum] gloria *munerari*,” which the old English versions published by Mr. Maskell render, “Make hem to be rewardid with thi scyntis: in blisse, with everlastinge glorie (*Mo*

PER singulos dies benedicimus te  
et laudamus nomen tuum in æternum  
et in seculum seculi.

35

FIAT Domine misericordia tua super nos  
quemadmodum speravimus in te.

Gloss.—35. *Per singulos dies*.—i. in prosperis et in adversis sine ullo intervallo te benedicimus.  
38. *Fiat*.—i. oratio ecclesiae.

*num. Rit.* ii. 14), or “Make hem to be rewarded with thi seyntis in endeles blisse” (*ibid.*, 230, 232); and every one acquainted with the black letter writing of the fifteenth century will at once see how easily *munerari* may be mistaken for *numerari*. That *munerari* is the true reading, can scarcely, I think, admit of a doubt; but *eternam* and *gloriam* are certainly corrupt, and scarcely make sense. We ought, evidently, to read *eterna* and *gloria*, as in B. It is also clear that the English Prayer-Book and older versions have misinterpreted this passage by the insertion of the word *them*: “Make them,” &c.; for the construction plainly is, “Quos redemisti fac munerari,” and the verse, “whom thou hast redeemed,” ought therefore to be connected with that which follows, not with that which precedes: “We therefore pray Thee help Thy servants: make Thou to be rewarded with Thy saints, in glory everlasting, those whom Thou hast redeemed with Thy precious blood.” Daniel says: “Procul dubio in hac voce” [*munerari*] “tenes scripturam antiquissimam et genuinam. *Numerari* primum occurrit in Brev. Italis v. c. in Frane. anni 1495” [i.e. a Franciscan Breviary, printed at Venice in that

year] “et Lg.” [by these letters he refers to the *Heures a l'usage de Lengres*, printed at Troyes, without a date]. “Seculo decimo sexto ecclesia Romana in ejusmodi litibus interdum *ἱταλίζουσα* recentiorem scripturam in textum recepit.”—*Loc. cit.*

32. *Salvum fac*.—This is Ps. xxvii. 9. *Fulg.* The *Te Deum*, properly so called, ends at line 31: all that follows is from the Psalms, and, as will be seen (see note on line 38), was varied at different times, and in different MSS.

34. *In seculum*.—Ad seculum, B. The common text reads, “in æternum.”

35. *Per singulos*.—This is Ps. cxliv. 2, *Fulg.*, with the change of *benedicimus* and *laudamus* for *benedicam* and *laudabo*.

36. *In æternum*.—The common text reads *in seculum*. B. reads *in eternum*.

37. *Seculi*. B. adds *Amen*.

38. *Fiat Domine*.—Ps. xxxii. 22, *Fulg.* The common text reads, “Fiat misericordia tua, Domine,” but B. agrees with our MS. Between lines 37 and 38 our MS. omits the two verses of the common text, “Dignare Domine, dic isto, sine peccato nos custodire: miserere nostri Domine, miserere nostri;” and after v. 38 it also omits the verse, “In te Domine speravi: non confundar in æternum.” And the

Τε πατrem adoramus eternum. τε sempiternum filium inuocamus. τεque ppriūm pāctum in una diuinitatī pūbūtantia manentem confitemur.

Τibi unī deo in trinitate debitas laudes γ χάτιας referimus ut τε inexprabīli uoce laudare mereamur per eterna pēcula.

same verses are omitted in B. These are, therefore, in all probability, interpolations of a later date. The last is obviously taken from Ps. xxxi. 1, or Ps. lxxi. 1, and *Miserere nostri* is from Tob. viii. 10 (*Vulg.*) The other verse, *Dignare Domine*, occurs, as Ussher has remarked, in the Greek *Hymnus Vespertinus*, which he has published in his *Tract. de Symbolo Romanæ Ecclesiæ*, p. 43 (*Works*, Elrington's edit., vol. vii. p. 337); and he might have added, that there also it is preceded by

the verse, *Per singulos dies*, from Ps. cxliv. 2.

*Te patrem.*—What follows, although by the same scribe, is in a somewhat different and more angular character, and was not, therefore, intended as a part of the *Te Deum*. It does not occur in B.; but Ussher found it in his copy of the *Liber Hymnorum*, and quotes it without any variation, as above, except that the concluding words were in his copy, “per eterna secula seculorum. Amen.”

## XIV. THE HYMN OF ST. COLUMBA, "ALTUS PROSATOR."

THE following Hymn was first printed by Colgan from an ancient copy of the Book of Hymns, supposed to be that which is now at St. Isidore's in Rome. He tells us that in that MS. it had two Prefaces, partly in Latin and partly in Irish, of which he has given only the substance; and that there were Arguments prefixed to each stanza, of which he has translated the Irish words<sup>1</sup> that occurred intermixed with Latin in the original, his object in the publication having been historical or religious, not philological. It is evident, however, that the text of the Hymn, as Colgan has printed it, is in many places corrupt, arising from errors of the press, or of transcription, so that there is great need of a more correct and careful edition of it. But it unfortunately happens that a leaf of the Dublin MS. is lost, which renders the present text imperfect from stanza O to X, inclusive: and the only other copy of the Hymn to which the Editor has access,—that preserved in the *Leabhar Breac*, a MS. of the fifteenth century, in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy,—is even still more defective, all being lost after stanza H. We must, therefore, still depend upon Colgan's copy for the missing stanzas.

The *Altus* of St. Columba, in one account of it, is said to have been composed as a penitential exercise for the three battles<sup>2</sup>, of which he had been the occasion in Ireland;—but a second tradition, recorded also in the Preface, tells us that it was an extemporaneous effusion. The former account represents it to have been composed, after seven years of study, in the Black Church of Derry,

<sup>1</sup> *Irish words*.—"Hymnus primus habuit duas præfationes, partim Latino, partim Hibernico idiomate præfixas, quarum summam tantum hic exhibemus. Singulæ etiam strophæ, seu capitula, habent præfixa sua argumenta, quæ ab aliquo veteri Scholiasta videntur adjectæ, in quibus nihil immutavimus,

nisi quod quædam hinc inde interjecta verba Hibernica, reddamus Latina."—Colgan, *Triad. Thaun.*, p. 473.

<sup>2</sup> *Battles*.—See Reeves's *Adamnan*, p. 253, who quotes the preface as given in the *Leabhar Breac*; which will be found, with a translation, in Addit. Note A.



in Ireland: the latter states that it was uttered extemporaneously in Hy. Few can doubt that, if we are to treat such legends as deserving of criticism, the former is in every point of view the more probable tradition. O'Donnell<sup>1</sup> (if we may trust Colgan's version) omits all mention of the occasion on which the Hymn was composed.

It is remarkable that the *Altus* has not been mentioned by Adamnan; but this circumstance cannot, perhaps, be urged as an argument against the authenticity of the Hymn, because the plan of Adamnan's work did not necessarily require him to notice the writings of St. Columba. If, however, a mission from St. Gregory the Great to the distant Abbot of Hy had been the occasion of a miraculous composition of this Hymn,—and miraculous it must have been, if so elaborate a production had been extemporaneous,—it would very naturally have fallen within the scope of St. Adamnan's memoir; and the circumstance could scarcely have been omitted by him, if he had known of it. We may, therefore, fairly conclude, that this legend, at least, if not the Hymn itself, was unknown to Adamnan.

But there is no reason why we should reject the former and less marvellous tradition—that the Hymn, if genuine, was composed in Ireland, before St. Columba's removal to Hy; and it is probable that the story of a mission from Rome to that *Ultima Thule* of Christendom, with gifts and relics presented by Pope Gregory the Great to Columba, was a legend invented after the time of Adamnan.

The Hymn is written in a rude Latinity, each strophe of six (or, as in the first stanza, seven) double lines, beginning with a letter of the alphabet in order; the metre a species of Trochaic dimeter, or tetrameter, as Bede calls it (see p. 163, note <sup>b</sup>), to be scanned without synalephe, with a rhyme or assonance at the end of the lines. Thus the first strophe, divided into its lines, will be as follows:—

Altus prositor vetustus,  
Dierum et ingenitus,  
Erat absque origine,  
Primordi et crepidine,  
Est et erit in secula,  
Seculorum infinita.  
Cui est unigenitus

Christus et Sanctus Spiritus.  
Coeternus in gloria  
Deitatis perpetua.  
Non tres Deos depronimus,  
Sed unum Deum dicimus,  
Salva fide in personis  
Tribus gloriosissimis.

<sup>1</sup> O'Donnell.—*Vit. quinta S. Columbæ*, lib. ii. c. 20, 21, *ap.* Colgan, *Triad. Thaum.*, p. 412.

See Addit. Note A, where the passage from O'Donnell is given.

There cannot be a doubt that the Hymn is of considerable antiquity, and that it is Irish. It quotes in many places a Latin version of the Scriptures older than the recension of St. Jerome; it is written in a barbaric style, with many words of rare occurrence—some of them unknown even to the researches of Du Cange. Dr. Reeves has noticed the word *Dialis*, which seems peculiar to this Hymn and to Adamnan, in the sense of *divine*, *sacred*<sup>1</sup>. Some other examples will be pointed out in the Notes.

In the following pages the Hymn has been printed as in the MS., with two lines in one—the double line consisting of sixteen syllables, as stated in the ancient Preface.

To each strophe, or stanza, is prefixed a Scholium, containing what the *Vetus Scholiasta*, as Colgan terms him, calls "The Title" and "The Argument." The *Title* is a short summary, in Latin, of the subject treated of in the stanza to which it is prefixed. The *Argument* is a text—sometimes two or more texts—of Scripture, on which the principal thought or subject-matter of the stanza is founded. Thus *The Title* of stanza A is, "*De Unitate et Trinitate trium Personarum.*" The *Argument* (Dan. vii. 9), "*Vetustus dierum sedebat super sedem suam.*" See these Scholia translated in Addit. Note C.

In the Additional Notes will be found the Preface as given in the *Leabhar Breac*, with the Gloss and Scholia of the same MS.; the Preface, as abridged and translated into Latin by Colgan from the MS. supposed to be now in Rome; and an attempt to give an English translation of the entire Hymn.

In the notes at the bottom of the pages the various readings of Colgan's printed copy are marked C.; and those of the MS. fragment in the *Leabhar Breac* are marked B.

<sup>1</sup> See Reeves, *Adamnan. Glossar. in voce.*



LOCUS huius summi hī. Tempus Aedān meice Gabráin nīg Alban, ocup Aeda meice Anmeprech nīg hepenm. Mupiciur autem uel poccap ippe ba nī pomam tunc. Poppo Collumcille do nobile genepe pccorpm. Columba dicitur ut ep̄t ep̄tore p̄p̄udentep p̄icut p̄p̄p̄ntep et p̄mplicep p̄icut columbae. Caura quia uoluit deum laudare. P̄ep̄ p̄p̄tim annop hunc sumum p̄p̄utant in nīgna cellula p̄ine lumine .i. ap̄ chumchib̄ uilguda in uad̄ cacha eule d̄p̄emne do b̄p̄r̄ud̄ pop̄ Diarmait mac Cerpbaill. 7 na cacha aile po b̄p̄r̄te ep̄e na p̄oēum. Uel ut alii dicunt, ip̄ eo hopum do ponab̄ .i. ap̄aile lache po b̄b̄i columcille in hī, 7 nī b̄b̄i nech oca aēr b̄ofelín, 7 nī b̄of b̄iad̄ oecu aēr ep̄iathap̄ coep̄a. Ar̄b̄ep̄t iapum Columcille p̄p̄i b̄aichm. Do p̄oilec̄ oigib̄ huap̄lu cucunn̄ indiu a b̄aichm .i. munitip̄ D̄p̄uip̄ taneat̄ap̄ conap̄ceab̄b̄ d̄opom; 7 ar̄b̄ep̄t̄p̄om p̄p̄i b̄aichín, b̄f̄ i p̄op̄i iep̄p̄ichalaim na n̄oēgēb̄ conb̄igup̄a don̄ muliunm. D̄aib̄d̄p̄om p̄ap̄ a ep̄e diap̄aile chloich b̄of̄ ip̄ ind̄ p̄ec̄lep̄ .i. b̄lachnat̄ a haimm, 7 iap̄aib̄ beop̄, 7 ip̄ p̄up̄ri do d̄n̄ich̄ep̄ p̄oinm ip̄m p̄h̄p̄oin̄t̄iḡ. Ba ep̄om ep̄a l̄ep̄eom a ep̄e, conb̄ep̄na in immun̄p̄a ep̄ia op̄b̄ ap̄p̄ḡt̄p̄ech̄, o ep̄a p̄en conb̄ice in mulenn̄ .i. aduicop̄ lab̄op̄ant̄ium 7c. In ean̄ imop̄po do pat̄ in eēt̄ p̄oēa ip̄ in mulenn̄ ip̄ ann̄ do chuab̄ icenn̄ in ch̄et̄na cap̄t̄ill, ocup ip̄ imm̄aile p̄op̄caich in bole do b̄lich̄ 7 in eim̄m̄un̄ do denam. Ocup ip̄ eo hopom do ponab̄ p̄ic. Ip̄ in choic̄iud̄ b̄h̄ad̄am p̄ep̄eat̄ ap̄ .cccc. iap̄ n̄ḡein̄ ep̄ip̄t̄ do chuab̄ colum cille do hī, ut h̄et̄ba d̄ic̄it̄, anno d̄om̄inic̄ae inc̄ap̄n̄ation̄ip̄ .cccc̄lx̄. quo tempore gubernaculum pomani imperii p̄op̄t iup̄t̄im̄an̄um iup̄t̄im̄ur̄ min̄op̄ accep̄it̄. Uenit de h̄ib̄ep̄nia p̄p̄ep̄t̄ep̄ et ab̄b̄ap̄ habit̄u et uita monachi in̄p̄iḡn̄i nomine Columbi b̄p̄ic̄om̄ani p̄p̄e- uic̄at̄ur̄p̄ uer̄ib̄um D̄ei p̄p̄oūm̄eip̄ p̄ep̄t̄im̄t̄p̄ion̄al̄ium p̄ic̄op̄um. D̄p̄ud̄i aut̄em filiur̄ Melch̄on p̄ez̄eb̄at̄ p̄ic̄op̄ tunc, et ip̄p̄e imm̄olauit columbo hī, ubi columb̄iur̄ cum ep̄p̄et̄ annop̄um .lxx̄ii. p̄ep̄ult̄ep̄ ep̄t̄. P̄op̄t̄ uero .xx̄x̄iii. ex quo ip̄p̄e b̄p̄ic̄a- n̄am p̄p̄ed̄ic̄at̄ur̄p̄ ad̄iit̄.

Rucab̄ ep̄a in eim̄m̄on̄ia do d̄p̄uip̄ p̄ap̄i, ic̄om̄in̄am na n̄ap̄ceba tuc̄cha huab̄ .i. in ep̄oip̄, .i. in in̄p̄r̄ḡem̄ a h̄aim̄p̄ib̄e, 7 imm̄am̄ na p̄ech̄t̄m̄ame. Ro eloim̄eloip̄et̄ imop̄po na imm̄am̄. chuip̄ch̄ib̄e ep̄i cap̄t̄il̄ ann̄ do ponab̄ D̄p̄uip̄ .i. hic̄ p̄ub̄lat̄ur̄, ocup op̄bem, 7 uaḡat̄ur̄. O dochoat̄ip̄ imop̄po i c̄enn̄ t̄ap̄p̄ent̄a ind̄ imm̄uin̄ do d̄p̄uip̄, do deo- chat̄ap̄ ainḡil de comb̄it̄p̄ im̄ap̄ep̄t̄om̄ cop̄p̄oich̄ed̄ leop̄eom in̄ cap̄t̄el̄ p̄en, at̄t̄p̄a- ḡeb̄ d̄p̄uip̄ ap̄ a p̄oinm̄ p̄eom̄ con̄nice p̄en. O p̄op̄ech̄ed̄ imop̄po p̄en no p̄ad̄it̄ur̄ inna h̄anḡil̄. no p̄ad̄eb̄ d̄na D̄p̄uip̄, eo t̄ap̄m̄ic̄ in̄t̄im̄m̄un̄ p̄ond̄im̄ap̄ p̄in. Ro t̄h̄och̄- laiḡ ep̄a D̄p̄uip̄ a coib̄p̄ena cucup̄om̄ ap̄p̄io p̄ic̄ip̄p̄eom̄ it̄e po ch̄ám̄ch̄l̄oip̄et̄. at̄b̄e- p̄at̄p̄om̄ d̄na ba h̄iat̄. 7 p̄op̄bae uilgud̄ de. Ocup at̄b̄ep̄it̄p̄om̄ n̄ob̄b̄a loch̄t̄ pop̄i p̄in eim̄m̄un̄ aēr a laiḡet̄ do molab̄ in̄ t̄p̄h̄oiz̄ ann̄ p̄ep̄ p̄e, eia po molab̄ ep̄ia na d̄ulib̄. Ocup do p̄oach̄t̄ in̄ t̄in̄ch̄p̄ech̄at̄p̄in̄ eo columcille, 7 ip̄e p̄em̄ p̄och̄un̄ den̄ma in̄ t̄e ch̄ap̄it̄e. Op̄b̄ ap̄p̄ḡt̄p̄ech̄ p̄il̄ h̄ic̄ m̄ope eb̄p̄eo, ap̄und̄ip̄i c̄ath̄al̄c̄ba tuc̄ab̄ p̄oēa in̄ cap̄t̄il̄p̄e .i. ep̄et̄em̄ oen̄at̄ab̄ eo p̄oip̄t̄im̄ t̄p̄eb̄at̄ab̄. T̄p̄e p̄ich̄im̄ d̄na do ponab̄. 7 b̄i ep̄n̄ail̄ p̄up̄ip̄iud̄e .i. ap̄t̄ic̄ip̄ic̄ial̄ip̄ 7 uulḡap̄ip̄. Ap̄t̄ic̄ip̄ic̄ial̄ip̄ ubi p̄iunt̄ t̄p̄aiḡib̄ com̄am̄-

peþða compoblaide cocurpummar po appe 7 ceir. 7 copop rubrequeñt ef illoc ppe-  
cebeñtur innatuaplucab. uulgarip imorpo ðu imbi impeera pillab 7 cethrametlum  
ocur lechpann, 7 iped ðu pil lif. Sé line ðna in cech capteul. 7 .xvi. pillaba cech  
lini cen motha in eet captell. uii. line imorpo androm ap ip molab de pil annpibe.  
Cubab ðna inð numuip ecutpummarin ppur na capteul arehena ap ecutpumma ðia  
ppia ðulib. Numip peða autem in cpeaturip quia rex diebur pactae punit.  
Oportet titulum et argumentum eppre ante unumquemque capitulum.

Ropé epa ðligeð gabala huiur sñmi eo na gabtha quip potepet Deo etip cech ða capteul. 7  
ip ðe no biad a pacha paur apur amlab po chanat ppur. Aetðat epa pacha imða for  
inð immurpa, .i. angil ippecnapcur cimbethip ic o gabail. Hi pinnpa demun péc inç  
nob gēba cech ðia. 7 ni mðepçat ðna namait he ipinð lo in geþa. ocur ðna ni ðia  
ðebab ip in ciz inðebthar coðnatæch. Angið ðna ap cech inðar aét ec ppur  
aðapet. 7 ðna ni ðia ðopeta na noéta ip in þurp in geþear commence 7 aliae multae  
punit.

ISSC in titul de unitate 7 tpmitate tpium pepponarum. Ip pi  
imorpo inð arðamaint in chanom popra pothaiçet in captel ut in  
Danielo uel in Epia legitur, Ueturpur diepum pebebat puper peðem  
puam. Ueturpur diepum æternur temporum epac. Ueturpur diepum  
ðeur ðicicup, ppo multitudine diepum ante quor ðeur epac. uel  
quia puit [ante] omnia tempora. Canon ðna pacha ðo beppcom  
inte quia ippe ppoçeta puit. Ocur ó Danuul painpuð tuc ap ip  
po po ðebenchu 7 po po poepiu. Ipe ðna Columelle po po ðeben-  
chu 7 po po poepiu ðo þathib hçpenn.

**ALTUS** prositor uetustus dierum et ingenitus  
erat absque origine primordii et crepidine  
est et erit in secula seculorum infinita  
cui est unigenitus christus et sanctus spi-  
ritus  
coæternus in gloria dietatis perpetuæ  
non tris deos depromimus sed unum deum  
dicimus  
salua fide in personis tribus gloriosissimis

Gloss.—1. *Prositor*.—i. genitor, .i. inçabbul . . . [the awful . . .]. *Uetus-*  
*tus*.—i. eternus, .i. pmitlip na namper, .i. pmiu 7 coipech ðiap temporu [i. senior  
of the times, .i. elder and first of our times]. *Dierum*.—i. temporum. 2. *Absque ori-*  
*gine*.—i. cen aþhap no cen bunab [without father, or without origin]. 3. *Secula*.  
—i. futurorum. *Seculorum*.—i. præsentium. 4. *Unigenitus*.—Primogenitus, quia nemo  
ante ipsum est, unigenitus quia nemo post ipsum est. *Christus*.—Misias ebraice, Christus  
grece, Uñctus latine. 7. *Salua*.—i. intigra.

1. *Altus*.—For a translation lia or arguments prefixed to each stanza,  
of the Preface, and of the Scho- see Add. Notes A and C. It will be ob-



Isē in titul. De popinatione. ix. ἡραβουμ. τριβυρ ππαετερμυρριπ non per ignopantiam sed ppo angustia caputuli ppaetermυrριt. Isi imorpo inō arghamant. Fiat lux γ facta est.

**B**onos creavit angelos ordines et archangelos  
principatum ac sedium potestatum uirtutum.  
uti non esset bonitas otiosa ac maiestas  
trinitatis in omnibus largitatis muneribus  
sed haberet celestia in quibus preuigilia  
ostenderet magnopere possibili patimine.

10

Gloss.—8. *Archangelos*.—i. bonos. 9. *Sedium*.—i. troni. *Uirtutum*.—i. causa rithmi. 10. *Uti*.—i. ut. *Bonitas*.—i. benevolentia. *Otiosa*.—i. sine operatione. .i. antach no bsmam cenmaine doēpniub [dilatory or lazy, without giving away goods]. 12. *Haberet*.—i. ut. *Celestia*.—i. elimenta vel ministeria. *Preuigilia*.—i. napemiaba γ na honore, .i. cech ḡrōb opailu [i.e. the pre-eminences and honors, i.e. of each more beautiful grade], .i. quasi privata lex. 13. *Magnopere*.—i. on mōrḡnum. no in mōrḡnecheb, .i. commōr, .i. ḡnō aīrner pochmai, .i. on molab pochmai bo bepat aīḡil dicencep pāncep pāncep pāncep dominur [i.e. from the great deed, or the great agent, i. very great, i. from the glorious testimony, i. from the glorious praise which the angels give, saying, Holy, Holy, Holy Lord].

served that in the Scholium prefixed to this stanza, Dan. vii. 9, is quoted from an Ante-Hieronymian version: *vetustus*, not *antiquus*, dierum. It is curious that the scholiast seems uncertain whether this passage was in Daniel or Isaiah: but the words "vel in Esaia" were probably the insertion of some transcriber. They occur in C, but not in B. *Prositor*.—Prosator, C. Prosetor, B. *Prosator* is Father, Creator, from *prosero*, to bring forth, beget. The Gloss explains the word *genitor*. The Isidorian Glossaries have "*Prosatrix*, genetrix." *Opp. Isidori Hisp.*, tom. vii. (*Append.*, xxiv. p. 483) 4°, Romæ, 1803. *Dierum*.—To be read as a trisyllable.

2. *Primordii*.—Primordio, C. Primordi, B. It must be pronounced *Primordi* to suit the metre. *Crepidine*.—Κρηπῖς, border, edge, foundation. *Crepido* is used frequently in the Vulgate, Ex. ii. 5; Lev. i. 15; Judic. vii. 22, *et alibi*. The Greek

Κρηπῖς is explained, *gradus, basis, ripa, fundamentum*, *Glossar. in Octateuch*: κρηπῖςωμα, *fundamentum, basis*. Ezek. xliii. 14. *Aquil.* and *Vulg.*

4. *Christus*.—The Gloss on this word is from Isidor. *Etymolog.*, lib. xvii. c. 2, n. 6.

5. *Deitatis*.—Deitatis, C. *Perpetuae*.—Perpetua, C. A more recent hand has written "vel a" over the final ae in the MS. Perpetua is necessary to rhyme with *gloria*.

6. *Tris*.—Tres, C. *Dicimus*.—"Dūm," C., an evident mistake; for *Domini* would be inconsistent with the rhyme.

7. *Salva*.—Under this line are the words In ipip chachalacōa . . . [the Catholic faith . . .], with some other words very obscure, but which may be read γ pop a inchaib dompa [may I be on its protection].



DE TRANSMIGRATIONE .i. graduum principis, ipe in titul. Apud apocalypsi morio do bepari mō aršamamē id ēst mōi pteſtam de celo cecidit in terram. 7 in epistola, quomodo cecidit lucifer qui mane oriebatur.

Celi de regni apice stationis angelicæ  
claritate præfulgoris uenustate speciminis  
superbiendo ruerat lucifer quem formauerat  
apostataeque angeli eodem lapsu lugubri  
auctoris cenodoxiae peruicacis inuidiae  
ceteris remanentibus in suis principatibus. 15

Gloss.—15. *Speciminis*.—i. ignee [form, beauty]. 16. *Lucifer*.—i. lucem ferens. *Formauerat*.—i. Deus. 17. *Apostatae*.—i. ruerant, .i. na hanzil dīpeemnecha, .i. onbipunt tuitim [i. the lapsed angels, .i. from their lamentable fall]. *Lugubri*.—i. chomtech [lamentable], .i. uatib pēin 7 alip [from themselves and others] quia demones suum lapsum lugent. 18. *Cenodoxiae*. i. inanis glorie vel superbiae, vel na glope epcone [the common glory] nam cenon grece comune latine dicitur, .i. epcon [common] doxia vero gloria. *Pervicacis*. Pervicax dicitur qui in proposito suo perseverat usque in victoriam. 19. *Ceteris*.—i. angelis.

8. *Bonos*.—In the Scholium prefixed to this stanza, or *capitulum*, the text *Fiat lux* is quoted as the record of the creation of angels, who are generally assumed by divines to have been included in the word *Light*.—See Isidor. Hispal., *Sentent.*, lib. i. c. 10, n. 3, who says, "ante omnem creaturam angeli facti sunt, dum dictum est, *Fiat lux*." The nine orders or degrees of angels are usually enumerated thus: Angeli, Archangeli, Throni, Dominationes, Virtutes, Principatus, Potestates, Cherubim, Seraphim. See Isidor. Hispal., *Etymolog.*, lib. vii. c. 5. Of these our author mentions only six, omitting three (viz., Dominationes, Cherubim, and Seraphim), which the Scholiast tells us were omitted, not because he was ignorant of them, but because he found it impossible to bring them into the limits of his verse. The Gloss informs us that the author gave the name of *sedes* to one of these orders, instead of

*throni*, and that he wrote *virtutum*, instead of *virtutum*, for the sake of the metre. In the margin there are the following notes: one in Latin (which the Editor has not found in the works of Isidore)—"Ante omnem diem et ante omne tempus condidit Deus angelicam creaturam et informem materiam, Isidorus dicit." The other in Irish:—Ip aipe po pēchmall hipuphín 7 papaphim pēch na hí aile apite ata pia o doimib iap netapdnu 7 atreb. Ipeat po .i. na .ix. ngrappa .i. angeli archangeli uirtutes potestates principatus dominationes tponi hipuphum 7 papaphim. ["The reason he has passed over the Hiruphin and Saraphin beyond the others is, because they are farther from men in their distance and residence. And these are the nine orders, viz., angels, archangels, virtues, powers, principalities, dominions, thrones, Hiruphim, and Saraphim"]. *Ordines*.—Archangelos et ordines, C.

De penna diaboli in titul .i. de motatione nominis Luciperi in draco-  
nem. ȳȳ mōppō mō arġāmānt, ut ēre in apocalypsi Ecce draco nuphūp  
habent capita .iiii. ȳ cornua .x. ȳ cauda eiur traxit secum tertiam parti-  
tem p̄bepum uel pcellapum.

**D**raeco magnus deterrimus terribilis et antiquus  
qui fuit serpens lubricus sapientior omnibus  
bestiis et animantibus terrae peracioribus  
terciam partem siderum traxit secum in barathrum  
locorum infernalium diversorumque carcerum  
repuza ueri luminis parasito praecepites

GLOSS.—20. *Draco*.—i. diabolus. *Deterrimus*.—i. pessimus, vel terribissimus, i. horribilissimus. 21. *Lubricus*.—i. p̄lemon [slippery]. *Sapientior*.—i. tuachlu [more subtle, cunning] b̄b̄ [est] sapientia in bono et in malo, in bono, ut dauid dicit Initium sapientiae etc. [Ps. cx. 10]. in malo, ut christus Perdam sapientiam sapientium huius mundi [1 Cor. i. 15]. 22. *Animantibus*.—i. animalibus. 23. *Tertiam partem*.—i. de omnibus angelis vel de consentientibus. *Siderum*.—i. graduum celestium .i. angelorum. *Barathrum*.—i. in infernum .i. imbaile chpo [i. e. into the city of death]. 25. *Parasito*.—i. ontō p̄uipreop̄ .i. uab̄ p̄em ar̄ p̄uipreop̄ . . . [from a mountebank, i. e. of his own accord he is a mountebank]. *Praecepites*.—i. inna p̄m̄b̄p̄arġēechad̄ .i. ipepn [i. e. the precipitous places, viz. hell].

9. *Principatum*.—Principatum, B. *Virtutum*.—Virtutum, C. Virtutum, B.

11. *Largitatis*.—Largiatatis, B.

12. *Privigia*.—Privilegia, C. Privelegia, B. The Gloss assumes the reading *Privilegia*, which is necessary to agree with *Celestia*.

13. *Fatimine*.—Fatimini, B. This word does not occur in the dictionaries, nor in Du Cange. It seems to signify *expression, manifestation*, from *fator, for, to speak*; or *fateor, to manifest*. See Reeves, *Adamnan, Glossar. in voc. Famen*, p. 444.

14. *Celi*.—For *Transmigratione* in the Scholium, C. has *translationē*. The word seems to be applied here to the fall of the angels, who are called "the nine orders or degrees of *Prince*," in reference, apparently, to the passages of Scripture in which Satan is called *Prince* (John, xii. 31, xiv. 30, xvi. 11; Eph., ii. 2).

15. *Speciminis*.—Here used to denote honour, glory, ornament, a sense in which the word occurs in Seneca and Apuleius.

17. *Apostatae*.—In the margin is this note: "Apostata grece, recessor a fidelis interpretatur latine; vel lugubrium lignum est super quod etiam aves stare non possunt, q̄ alemni tucad̄ uab̄p̄r̄e p̄op̄ cech̄ p̄lemon [from its slipperiness; the name was given from this to everything slippery]." Does this note confound *lugubris* and *lubricus*?

18. *Cenodoxia*.—Interpreted in the Gloss *inanis gloria*, κενὴ δόξη. Isidor. Hisp. uses the word: "Multos autem ex eis [monachis] cenodoxiae morbus commaculat." *De eccl. Officiis*, lib. ii. 16, n. 18. See Du Cange, *Glossar. in voc.* The second etymology, κωνὴ δόξη, is a mistake. The construction is, "And the apostate angels" [ruerunt, fell], "by the same lamentable fall of the author of vain glory, of obstinate hate, the others remaining in their principalities." *Perricacis*.—The Gloss is from Isidor. Hispal., *Etymol.*, lib. x. 211.

20. *Deterrimus*.—Teterrimus, C. *Antiquus*.—Apoc. xii. 9, xx. 2.

De creatione elementorum mundi ꝛ hominū regentū ea portea mōre  
in titul. hī mōppo mō arġamant. In principio fecit deus celum ꝛ  
terram ut in genēri dicitur.

**E**xcelsum mundi machinam preuidens et armoniam  
caelum et terram pecerat mare et aquas condidit  
herbarum quoque germina uirgultorum arbuscula  
solem lunam ac sidera ignem ac necessaria  
aves pisces et peccora bestias et animalia 30  
hominem demum regere protoplastum praesagmine.

GLOSS.—26. *Machinam*.—i. materiam, i. massam. *Armoniam*.—i. in inelubidū pil et ep na  
dūle [i. the harmony that is between things created]. 27. *Caelum*.—i. invisibilis omnis creatura.  
*Terram*.—i. omnis creatura visibilis terra vocatur. *Mare*.—i. a maritudine dictum, vel a meando. 28.  
*Herbarum*.—i. christus. 30. *Bestias*.—i. quicquid ore et ungue [read unguine] sevit, bestia dicitur.  
31. *Hominem*.—i. Adam, i. omnia elementa terrena. *Protoplastum*.—i. protos, græce: primus, latine:  
platus, i. formatus, i. in cēchpūta [the first created] i. corpus. *Prasagmine*.—i. o plogapchun-  
necht [i. host = leadership].

21. *Lubricus*.—In the margin there is the following note: "Lubricus a libro, quod est nomen . . . . . cui oblenita scilipes adherere non possunt, . . . . . finitatem omnis levis de quo . . . . . quis labitur lubricus dicitur, don chpunn pēmbite eoin in a bapp, ꝛ dia cacc oo ġmteþ in tþipic [from that tree, on whose top there are usually birds, and from whose dung silk is made]. The remainder of this note is very obscure, and the Editor has not succeeded in reading it: it concludes with the words "in barathro, i. in inferno." *Lubrum*, in the Glossary of Papias, is explained "rasile lignum." The object of the first part of this note is evidently to derive the word *Lubricus* from the name of a tree, so slippery that even flies cannot walk on its branches.—See the Gloss on this passage in the *Leabhar Breac*, Addit. Note B.

22. *Feracioribus*.—Feroeioribus, B.

25. *Refuga*.—Over the last syllable of

this word is written .l. x. [rel x], and a more recent hand has written x on the line below. *Refugax* is the reading of C. *Refugas*, B. *Parasito*.—The Gloss takes this word to signify a buffoon, or mountebank. Du Cange has shown that *parasitus* was used to signify a domestic servant, who lives at his master's table. But it is not easy to make sense from either of these significations in the passage before us. Perhaps we should read *paradiso*. The gloss over *Præcipites* seems to understand *locos*. There is evidently corruption in the text.

26. *Excelsus*.—In the margin is this note: ". . . . . dicit. Oportuit ut terre celestis creatura prece . . ." Nothing more is legible. It was evidently a passage quoted from some ecclesiastical writer, perhaps Bede; but the editor has not been able to find it. *Armoniam*.—Ermoniam, C.

27. *Et terram*.—Terram, C.

Ipe in titul. de laude dei ab angelis in quarta feria dicentes sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, dominus deus sabaoth. Ipi nō arḡamant. Quando feci celum ⁊ terram collaudaverunt me angeli, ut in sapientia salomonis dicitur.

**F**actis simul sideribus etheris luminaribus  
collaudaverunt angeli factura præmirabili  
immensae molis domuum opificem celestium  
precomio laudabile debito et immobile  
concentuque egregio grates egerunt domino  
amore et arbitrio non naturæ donario.

35

Gloss.—32. *Etheris*.—i. in ethuap [the ether, or air]. 33. *Collaudaverunt*.—i. me, i. postquam creati sunt angeli dixerunt, sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, dominus deus sabaoth. 34. *Molis*.—i. non corporalis molis. *Opificem*.—i. ḡimdenmaib [a work doer], i. opus et faciens. 36. *Concentuque*—i. on chocetul eperḡna [with magnificent singing together]. *Grates*.—i. pro gratias, causa ritulmi. 37. *Amore*.—i. præ. *Arbitrio*.—Arbitrium est proprium conatus animi. *Naturæ*.—i. nī in aicnuib po chlannab molaib de [not in their nature was implanted the praise of God], sed in voluntate et potestate sua, sicut intendit ante ubi dicit amore et arbitrio, ut dicunt, qđ comēpauit facere malum nīa nī bech ḡnaib de occa [as they say that they would have been able to do evil if they had not had the love of God].

29. *Ac sidera*.—Ac sydera, C., B. *Et necessaria*.—Et om., B. Ac necessaria, C.

30. *Pecora*.—Pecora, C. *Et animalia*.—Et om., C.

31. *Præsagmine*.—On this word is the following note in the margin: "Præsagmine .i. o pemthapchetul .i. chripetī nō o ploḡapchunnecht .i. o aipchin agminis hominum. Præsagmen enim a præsulē et agmen componitur. Agmen Dei ploḡapchunnecht. eo po bai do Cloam ut . . . . dicit . . . . creavit. Adam uero . . . . non fuit." Here some words are illegible; but what remains may be thus rendered: "Præsagmine, i. e. prophecy," [from *præsagire*, or *præsagare*], "i. e. of Christ, or host=leadership, i. e. the beginning of the host of mankind" [Adam being, as it were, the leader or chieftain of the human race]. "Præsagmen is compounded of *præsul* and *agmen*." The remaining words relating to Adam

are unintelligible, but may, perhaps, receive some light from the Gloss in the *Leabhar Breac*, where we read that God gave all things to Adam: "Adam vero nominibus ea nominavit." This, therefore, is the *præsagmen*, by which man bore rule over the inferior animals, whether we take that word to signify *prophecy* (exercised in Adam's naming all beasts), or to denote *superiority*, *power*, or *pre-eminence*, according to the second etymology given of it. See Addit. Note B.

32. *Factis*.—The Scholium prefixed to this stanza is thus translated:—"This is the Title, *De laude Dei ab angelis in quarta feria, dicentes* [dicentibus, C.] *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth*. This is the Argument, *Quando feci celum et terram, collaudaverunt me angeli, ut in sapientia Salomonis dicitur*." We have here the ancient opinion that the



De peccato adae ⁊ de secunda ruina diabuli in reductione adae in  
 titul. Ibi ino argumant, Malebictur erip peppent terram comedepit  
 omnibuz diebus uitae, ut in generi dicitur.

Transactis primis duobus seductisque parentibus  
 secundo ruit Zabulus cum suis satellitibus  
 quorum horrore uultuum sonoque uolitantium  
 consternarentur homines metu territi fragiles  
 non ualentes carnalibus haec intueri uisibus  
 qui nunc ligantur pascibus ergastolorum nexibus.

GLOSS.—38. *Grassatis*.—i. a diabulo. *Seductisque*.—i. ab hora conditionis. *Parentibus*.—i. Adam et Eva. 39. *Secundo*.—i. primo de celo ad terram; secundo ad infernum. *Zabulrs*.—i. diabolus. *Cum suis*.—i. cum malis suis factoribus. *Satilitibus*.—Satilis a satis uilis. 40. *Quorum*.—i. demoniorum. *Voltantium*.—Vel demonum, vel ferarum. 41. *Consternerentur*.—i. no παύσειν [they would have hidden themselves]. *Fragiles*.—i. fragilis dicitur eo quod facile frangi potest. 42. *Hæc intueri*.—i. agmina diabulica uolitantia. 43. *Qui*.—i. satiles. *Ergastolorum*.—i. na πιασθέντων no ιννα ἡνικαπορ [i. e. the penal dungeons, or the wounding dungeons] . . . . . ergastulum enim opus ex . . . . . longum in tempus.

stars, created on the fourth day (Gen. i. 14-19), were the angels. This opinion is founded on Job, xxxviii. 7, which is probably the passage intended by our Scholiast, for nothing of the sort occurs in the Wisdom of Solomon. St. Gregory the Great, in his commentary on the passage, says: "Quia enim prima in tempore condita natura rationabilium spirituum creditur non immerito matutina astra angeli vocantur."—*Moral.*, lib. xxviii. c. 14. The Ante-Hieronymian version of Job, xxxviii. 7, as given by Sabatier, from the MS. Majoris Monast., is as follows:—"Quando facta sunt simul sidera, laudaverunt me voce magna omnes angeli mei" (which is a literal translation of the Septuagint). It will be observed that this older version, and not the present Vulgate, has been quoted by our Scholiast.

35. *Laudabile*.—Laudabili, C. *Immobile*.—Immobili, C.

38. *Grassatis*.—*Grassare* is to torment,

to assault. See p. 156, line 38, where we have, "*impiis verbis grassatur.*" "He [Christ] is assailed with impious words."

39. *Secundo*.—The Gloss explains that the first fall of the Devil was from heaven to earth (see lines 20, *sq.*); the second (after the fall of Adam) from earth to hell. The common opinion of divines is that the first fall of Satan took place before the creation of man, and immediately after his own creation: an inference which some deduce from the text, “Ab initio mendax fuit.” Jo. viii. 44. See Isidor. *Hispal. Sententiar.* i. x. 7. *Zabulus*, for *diabulus*, as the Gloss explains; from which we may infer that when this MS. was transcribed, the orthography *z* for *di* was becoming obscure. *Satilitibus*.—*Satellitibus*. C.

41. *Consternarentur*.—Consternerentur, C., an error probably of the press. The Gloss intimates that the consternation is increased by the demons being usually invisible.



De electione diabuli ex unitate angelorum in titul. Ἰριμονρο ἰνδ ἀρχιμαντε (quod dicitur in generi Malebiete peppenp. Et in euangelio dicitur Ὑabe περὶο ραταναρ ἡ non tempecatibz bonnum deum tuum ἡ illi poli pepuier.

**H**ic sublatus e medio deiectus est a domino  
 cunis aeris spatium constipatur satilitum  
 globo invisibilium turbido perduellium  
 ne malis exemplaribus imbuti ac sceleribus  
 nullis unquam tegeantibus septis ac parietibus  
 pornicarentur homines palam omnium oculis

45

Gloss.—44. *Hic*.—i. diabolus. *Sublatus*.—i. a præsentia dei, vel ex unitate fratrum. *Deiectus*.  
 .i. ποταπεραβ [i. is cast down]. 45. *Constipatur*.—i. ὤνταρ [is filled, crowded]. *Satilitum*.—i.  
 ναυιαναρ [i. the mercenary attendants]. 46. *Perduellium*.—i. ἰνναν δεατ hac [of the two battling  
 ones]. i. inter se inuicem semper, no eath [or battle] contra deum et homines, .i. quasi duobus bellis  
 bellatorum quia duellis bellum . . . . hostes duellium, .i. ναμτιβ [enmity] perduellis inimicus. 47.  
*Malis*—i. demonum. *Exemplaribus*.—i. ονα εγπαριβ [by their examples]. *Imbuti*.—i. homines.  
 48. *Septis*.—i. sepes lignorum dicitur, paries autem lapidum. 49. *Fornicarentur*.—i. perdirentur, vel  
 peccarent, pro omni peccato fornicatio ponitur.

43. *Ligantur*.—Ligatur, C. This reading agrees better with the Gloss over *qui*, which seems to take *qui* as singular; but *ligantur* is evidently the true reading, and is the reading also of B. *Faucibus*.—Faucibus, C. *Ergastolorum*.—Ἐργαστήριον, a prison where the convicts are compelled to labour. "Carcer, vel locus ubi damnati marmora secant."—*Isidori Gloss*. Or the fetters with which prisoners are secured.—*Du Cange*, in voc.

44. *Hic*.—There is a mark like this, :—, over this word, and a similar mark under the word "zabulus" in ver. 39, which seem intended to show that *hic* refers to *zabulus*. Hence the Gloss "i. diabolus" is written under *Hic*, not over it, to avoid interfering with the grammatical mark. *Diectus*.—Diectus, B.

45. *Cujus*.—Alluding, probably, to the Apostle's saying, Eph. ii. 2, "Princeps potestatis aeris hujus;" the meaning will

then be, "the space of *his* air [i. e. the Devil's air] is filled by a crowd of satellites." Or perhaps the construction is "ejus satellitum;"—"by the crowd of whose [i. e. the devil's] satellites the air is filled or choked up." *Satilitum*.—Satellitum, C.

46. *Perduellium*.—The construction seems to be "Globo turbido satellitum invisibilium perduellium." The Gloss derives *duellum* from *duo* and *bellum*; but Isidore of Seville, on the contrary, derives *bellum* from *duellum*: "postea" (he says) "detracta et mutata litera" [i. e. detracta litera *d*, et mutata *u* in *b*] "dictum est bellum."—*Etymolog.*, lib. xviii. c. 1, n. 9.

47. *Ne malis*.—This seems to be given as the reason why the devils are invisible, lest, if their wickedness were visible, men should imitate them, in open shamelessness. *Imbuti*.—C. omits this word, pro-

De eo quod vehunt nubes aquas ab celum. Ipse in titulo. ISPI nō-  
arḡamant, ut dāuō dicit, Edecent nubes ab extremo terræ. ⁊ alibi  
dicit. qui producit ventos de tepaurip ruip.

IN vehunt nubes pontias ex pontibus brumalias 50  
tribus profundioribus occiani dodrantibus  
maris celi climatibus ceruleis turbinibus  
proputuras segitibus uinis et germinibus  
agitatae flaminibus tesaris emergentibus  
quique paludes marinas euacuante reciprocas. 55

Gloss.—50. *Invehunt*.—i. conoebat no imarēhupit [they raise or carry]. *Pontias*.—i. inna lipu [the seas]. *Brumalias*.—i. bruma, a brevi motu solis in eo, ipse . . . . mam pech . . . . arimmuō upce bruma edax, vel edacitas interpretatur. 52. *Climatibus*.—i. o apōaib [from high places]. *Turbinibus*.—i. o na tonnaib dubglappaib no o na haethchaib dubglappaib [from the dark-green waves, or from the dark-green fields]. 53. *Proputuras*.—i. inna hī rarmuōḡpūt [those over which they will pass]. *Segitibus*.—i. bouis hominibus. *Vinis*.—i. justis. *Germinibus*.—i. vilibus hominibus. 54. *Flaminibus*.—i. ventis. *Emergentibus*.—i. exaltantibus. 55. *Quique*.—i. venti. *Paludes*.—i. profundiores fontes vel tesauri, i. ad falles [? folles] uentorum qui sunt in tesaris. *Reciprocas*.—i. nahāō . . . [the causes?].

bably by an error of the press, for the omission would be a violation both of the metre and sense.

50. *Pontias*—The Gloss explains this word as if it signified *seas*, from *pontus*; but it is not found in any of the printed Glossaries of mediæval Latinity. *Brumalias*.—*Brumalibus*, C. Under this word, and also under *pontias*, are two dots, showing the opinion of the Scholiast that they are to be construed together. The Gloss on this word is in some places illegible; it gives the usual etymologies of *Bruma*, viz. *quasi brevissima dies*; or from the Greek βρῦμα, "edacitas," because in winter animals eat most.—Isid. Hispal., *Etymol.* v. xxxv. 6. The Irish words in the Gloss, so far as they are legible, seem to indicate another derivation, probably that of *Hiems*, ap immuō upce, "from abundance of water." Isid. Hispal., in his Glossary,

gives the word *Brumalia*, which he explains "resinosa pluvia," i. e. fetid rain. See also Du Cange, in v. *Bromosus*. The adjective *Brumalius* is of unusual occurrence, and was unknown to Du Cange.

51. *Oeciani*.—*Oecani*, C. *Dodrantibus*.—In this line there are dots under *tribus*, *profundioribus*, and *dodrantibus*, showing that they are grammatically connected. *Dodrans* is explained by Du Cange, from Papias, "tres quælibet partes, quarta remota," which is the sense in which the word is used in classical Latin; but it is not easy to see how it can have that signification here: "the three deeper three-fourths of the ocean" is a strange expression. In the margin there is a note which is almost wholly illegible, and has been partly cut off by the plough of the modern binder; it appears to be intended chiefly to explain *dodrans*.

De intolepabile pena peccatorum in inferno in titul. Ipi indarȝa-  
mant quod iob dicit Ecce ȝigantes ȝemunt sub aquis.

ƿaduca ac tirannica mundiſque momentania  
regum preſenti gloria nutu dei depoſita  
ecce ȝigantes ȝemere ſub aquis magno ulcere  
comprobantur incendio aduri ac ſuplicio  
cocitiſque carubdibus ſtrangulati turgentiſque  
ſcillis obteeti fluctibus eliduntur et ſcorpibus. 60

Gloss.—56. *Momentania*.—i. in momentum temporis. 58. *Gigantes*.—i. potentes in inferno. *Sub aquis*.—i. sub unda penarum, i. poena intolerabili. 59. *Comprobantur*—i. in ſcriptura. *Aduri*.—i. colorſciter [to be burned]. 60. *Cocitique*.—i. lethi iſſipin [instead of hell]. *Carubdibus*.—i. o na pæbchoſiſ [ōna ?] po mapbā, ap met a anſaib intpæbchoſe intamlaiȝter do pæbchoſib cociti ȝ ip ȝapcaib do por iſſepnō [i. it is by the whirlpools they are killed: because of the greatness of the ſtorm of the whirlpool, that are compared to the whirlpools of Cocitus; and it leads to hell]. *Strangulati*.—i. retenti. 61. *Fluctibus*.—i. o na tonnaib ſcilleſdaib, i. o ȝhonnaib in ȝpæbchoſe dianaib ann ſcilla, et in Sicilia eſt, ȝ armet ſona a anſaib beop [i. from the waves of Scilla, i. from the waves of the whirlpool whoſe name is Scilla, and is in Sicily, and in conſequence of the greatness of its ſwelling likewise].

54. *Flaminibus*.—Over this word, and alſo over *emergentiſque*, are two vertically placed dots (:), ſhowing that theſe words were to be conſtrued together. The exiſtence of dots and marks, to ſhow the grammatical connexion of the words, is a remarkable proof that in the age when the *Book of Hymns* was tranſcribed, the Latin text of ſuch hymns as that now before us was beginning to be obſcure.

56. *Tirannica*.—Tyrannica, C. *Momentania*.—Momentanea, C.

57. *Depoſita*.—Depoſita, C.

58. *Gigantes*.—Job, xxvi. 5.

59. *Aduri*.—Aduſti, C. *Supplicio*.—Supplicio, C.

60. *Cocitique*.—Quotidieſque, C. This is a manifeſt miſtake of tranſcription. *Carubdibus*.—Charydibus, C., an error of the preſs for *Charybdibus*. *Turgentiſque*.—Gurgitiſque, C. In the margin of the MS. there is the following note:—"Cocitus i.

nomen quarti fluminis in inferno. [Quatuor] flumina infernus tenet, id eſt, Cocitus, abſque gaudio interpretatur. Strix" [*leg. Styx*] "[tris]titia interpretatur. Flegiton [Flegethon] flammeus interpretatur; et Achiron. Vel .iiii. nomina unius fluminis. Carubdibus turgentiſque.—i. o na capicib epuachdaib, no ȝapbaib no bpucthachaib no o na pæbchoſib boſp- paſaȝiſ" [i. from the mountainous, or rough or boiling rocks, or from the ſwelling whirlpools]. "Strangulati—i. retenti, i. ȝeȝta de ſcillip" [held by the rocks]. "i pe ſcel ſopaȝhmentap hic [this is the ſtory that is commemorated here]. Scilla filia Porci" [Phoreys] "adamaſta eſt a Glaucō Deo maris, quod diſplicuit Circe filie ſolis. Sciens autem Circe fontem ad quem Scilla quotidie veniebat venificia fecit. Poſtquam venit Scilla ad illum ut lauaret manus fontem, conuerſa eſt ſtatim in beluam marinam et noluit

In titul. De moderatione pluviae venientur ex ligatur aquar nubibus ne pariter pluant. Iri morpno mō aržamaint. quōd iōb dicit. qui pup-pendit aquar in nubibus, ne pariter pluant deoripum.

Ligatas aquas nubibus prequenter crebrat dominus  
ut ne erumpant protinus simul ruptis obnecibus  
quarum uberioribus uenis uelut uberibus  
pedetentim natantibus telli pertractus istius 65  
tellidis ac peruentibus diuersis in temporibus  
usquam impluunt plumina nunquam deficientia.

Gloss.—62. *Crebrat*.—i. pithlaid [drops, filters]. 63. *Simul ruptis*.—i. Ανασθριπτί na pitecoipre, no anata pailigthe nā pitecoipre [the barriers are broken, or the barriers are made manifest] .i. ruptis ligationibus quibuscumquodammodo nubibus aqua. 64. *Quarum*.—i. imbrum. *Uerioribus*.—i. pro uberibus hic causa rithmi. 65. *Pedetentim*.—i. paulatim, .i. . . . . *Natantibus*.—i. aquis. *Telli*.—Tellus telli, secundae declinationis, ut Augustinus dicit et masculini generis, et potest dici tellus et feminini generis, hic et haec tellus telluris. *Pertractus*.—i. τρι pithri. 66. *Gellidis*.—i. hiems et ver. *Feruentibus*.—i. aestas et autumnus. 67. *Usquam*.—i. ubique. *Influunt*.—i. τοιρρηουτ [they well, i. e. burst up as from a well]. *Deficientia*.—eoque ex ea tolluntur.

ad homines uenire propter formam suam, proiecit se in mare. Uidens mater Carubdis filiam suam Scillam in mare nantem, exiit in mare ut teneret eam, sed non potuit, et frequenter [ven]tis affligebant, ut ferunt fabulae, uidens Neptunus quod in mare . . . . mittit tridentem in mare et statuit eas in scopulos et fixit Scillam in Sicilia et Carubdim in Italia cominus et uix nautae nauigare possunt inter eas sine periculo."

62. *Crebrat*.—*Crebrare*, or *Cribrare*, is to sift; to drop through a chink or fissure. Hence it is explained in the Gloss, pithlaid, he drops, filters. The word is also written *cribare*, and *crevare*. French, *crever*. See Du Cange, v. *Crevare*.

63. *Obiicibus*.—Obicibus, C.

65. *Pedetentim*.—Pedetentim, C. *Telli*.—Terræ, C. The Gloss proves that *telli* was the ancient reading; for it quotes Augustine to show that *tellus*, *telli*, of the

second declension, was masculine; *tellus*, *telluris*, of the third declension, feminine. The Editor has not found anything of this kind in the works of St. Augustine, nor in the spurious work *De Grammatica*, attributed to him, and printed in the Appendix to the Benedictine edition of his writings. It is true that Augustine has a remark on the male and female power of the earth, *De Civit. Dei*, vii. 23, which may perhaps be what our Scholiast alludes to; but he says nothing about a masculine *tellus*, having its genitive *telli*. Speaking of Varro, who made *Tellus* a goddess, and *Tellumon* a god. He says (*loc. cit.*): "Adhuc respondeatur, quam partem terræ permeet pars mundani animi, ut deum faciat Tellumonem. Non, inquit, sed una eademque terra habet geminam vim, et masculinam, quod semina producat; et femininam, quod recipiat atque enutriet: inde a vi feminina dictam esse *Tellurem*,



De pundamento terre ꝛ de abissi ipe in circulo. ꝛ ꝛ autem mō arꝑamante  
quod iob dicit qui pꝛpꝛendit terram [super nihilum]. Et alibi dicit  
Molir mundi uirtute dei cōtineetur. ꝛ in ꝓꝓalio qui pundaret terram  
super ꝓꝓalitateꝝ ꝓꝓam.

**M**agni dei uirtutibus appenditur dialibus  
globus terrae et circulus abissi magnae inditus  
suppulta dei iduma omnipotentis ualida  
columnis uelut uectibus eundem sustentantibus  
promontoriis et rupibus solis[is] pundamentibus  
uelut quibusdam bassibus firmatis immobilibus.

70

Gloss.—68. *Appenditur*.—Αἰτᾶται [kept up, sustained]. *Dialibus*.—i. diuinis. *Dius* secundum  
veteres no combat choip ann . . . . . [or that which ought to be in it . . . . .] 69. *Circulus*.  
—i. mō abip mop in po in clannad bligeb cipeul [the great abyss, in which was implanted the  
law of a circle]. *Iduma*.—i. manu, iduma ebraice, cirus grece, manus, latine. *Valida*.—i. forte. 72.  
*Promontoriis*.—i. o . . . . . ꝓꝓab.

a masculina *Telumonem*." *Pertractus*.—  
Per tractus, C. *Istius*.—There is a gloss  
under this word which is now ille-  
gible; it may possibly belong to *tem-  
poribus*, the last word of the next  
line.

70. *Iduma*.—The Gloss tells us that  
this is a Hebrew word, signifying the  
hand, and identical with the Greek *ciros*,  
i. e. χείρ, and the Latin *manus*. It is  
evidently from יד, a hand, and seems like  
a corruption of the dual ידי, as *ciros*  
seems taken from the genitive χείρως, or  
perhaps also from the plural χείρες. The  
remarkable word *Iduma* is not found in  
Du Cange, or in any of the Glossaries of  
mediaeval Latin to which the Editor has  
access; and this passage seems to be the  
only instance of its use as a Latin word,  
in the sense of *power, might, authority*.  
It would have been wholly unintelligible  
but for the gloss.

71. *Eundem*.—Over this word there is

the following curious grammatical note:  
“ .—, vel :” the first of these marks (—),  
occurs under the word “globus,” and the  
second (:) under the word “circulus,” in  
line 69: the meaning therefore is, that  
*eundem* signifies either “eundem globum”  
or “eundem circulum.” In like manner  
the mark (..) occurs under *iduma*, and  
also under *valida*, in line 70; showing  
that *valida* is to be construed as agreeing  
with *iduma*.

72. *Promontoriis*.—The Gloss upon this  
word is not legible, with the exception  
of the letters which have been above  
given; the meaning is, therefore, obscure.  
Perhaps the hiatus may be supplied by  
reading, o [na ꝓꝓ]ꝓꝓab, the Irish trans-  
lation of *promontoriis*. *Solidis*.—The text  
in the MS. has *solis*; but a coeval hand  
has written *solidis* in the margin, which  
is necessary both for the sense and the  
metre. The letters DI have therefore  
been added, within brackets, in the text.

De inferno in imis posito in corpore terræ et penitus eius et loco. ipse in titulo. Ipse in dargamant, Eruipt animam meam ex inferno [inferno]. ut in euangelio dicitur Sepultus est diues in inferno. et alibi Ite maledicti in aeternum ignem. et alibi Uerum corpus non moritur et ignis eius non exstinguitur].

**N**ULLI uidetur dubium in imis esse infernum  
ubi habentur tenebrae uermes ac diuinae bestiae  
ubi ignis solphorius ardens flammis edacibus  
ubi rugitus hominum pletus ac stridor dentium  
ubi gehennae gemitus terribilis et antiquus  
ubi ardor flammaticus sitis famisque horridus

75

\* \* \* \* \*

De laude dei ab angelis in titulo. Ipse in morio in dargamant, acberan in Apocalypsi.—In circulo tropi ubi peder .xxiiii. peniones pederentes in uerba alba et capitibus eorum corona aurea ubi.

**S**INNIORUM CANTIONIBUS SEDULO TINNIENTIBUS  
tropodis sanctis milibus angelorum uernantibus  
quatuorque plenissimis animalibus oculis  
cum uiginti pelicibus quatuor semoribus  
coronas admittentibus agni dei sub pedibus  
laudatur tribus uicibus trinitas eternalibus.

130

Gloss.—74. *In imis*.—i. in profundis terræ. *Infernum*.—Infernus dicitur quia infra sit. Sicut in medio animalis cor, ita infernus in medio terræ est. 75. *Tenebrae*.—i. tenebrae dictæ sunt quia tenent umbras. 129. *Tinnientibus*.—i. ambinniget na cantana [i. they harmonize the songs]. 130. *Vernantibus*.—i. immentengetur uile [which they all used to practise (?) often]. 131. *Animalibus*.—i. evangelistis. 132. *Viginti*.—i. cum .xii. patriarchis et xii. prophetis, vel cum .xii. prophetis et .xii. apostolis, vel figura .iiii. evangelistarum cum .xxiiii. libris veteris legis.

74. *Dubium*.—In the margin there is this note: "Dubium quasi diuivum, incertus duarum viarum." And so Isid. Hisp., "*Dubius*, incertus, quasi *duarum viarum*."—*Etymol.*, x. 77. *Infernum*.—The Gloss is from Isid. Hisp. *Etymol.*, l. xiv. c. 9: "Inferus appellatur eo quod infra sit," and, "Quomodo autem cor animalis in medio est, ita et infernus in medio terræ esse perhibetur." These words occur also in St. Jerome's *Comm. on Jon.*, i. 4.

76. *Solphorius*.—Sulphureus, C.

79. *Famisque*.—In the Irish orthography of *i* for *e*, *famisque* stands for *famesque*, "and hunger." C. reads *sitis fumusque*, a manifest mistake. A leaf of the Dublin copy of the *Liber Hymnorum* is lost after this line. It contained the stanzas O to X, inclusive, which will be found (taken from Colgan's copy of this Hymn) in the Additional Note D. It is greatly to be regretted that the MS. of the *Liber*

De uratione impiorum nolentes christum credere. ꝛ de gaudio iustorum in titulo. Ipse enim inopio ino argumant quod dicitur in apocalypsi . . . . Ipse igitur consumet aduersarios. ꝛ alibi dicit apostolus Mansiones multae sunt apud patrem, ꝛ christus dicit, In domo patris mei multae mansiones sunt.

**C**elus ignis puribundus consumet aduersarios 135  
 nolentes christum credere deo a patre uenisse  
 nos uero euolabimus obuiam ei protinus  
 et sic cum ipso erimus in diuersis ordinibus  
 dignitatum pro meritis premiorum perpetuis  
 permansuri in gloria a seculis in gloria. 140

Gloss.—135. *Consumet*.—i. vindicta a deo patre. *Aduersarios*.—i. veriti dei. 137. *Nos*.—i. genus humanum. *Evolabimus*.—i. in die iudicii. *Obuiam*.—i. ma. . . . . *Protinus*.—i. in ictu oculi. 138. *Cum ipso*.—i. erunt sancti cum Christo post mortem. *In diuersis*.—i. ut dicitur redd[ere unicuique] secundum opus suum. 140. *Gloria*.—i. in regno. *A seculis*. i. presentibus. *In gloria*.—i. infinita. . . . .

*Hymnorum* now preserved at the College of St. Isidore at Rome is wholly inaccessible to the Editor, as it would have doubtless supplied defects of this kind, and probably cleared up many obscurities, especially as Colgan has printed the hymn with several inaccuracies, and with an entire disregard of the Irish peculiarities of spelling.

130. *Tropodis*.—Tripodiis, C. *Vernantibus*.—*Vernare* is sometimes used in the sense of *canere*, to sing. See Du Cange, *Glossar.* in v. Perhaps this may be its signification here. The Irish gloss is obscure.

133. *Admittentibus*.—For *mittentibus*, evidently for the sake of the metre.—Apoc., iv. 10.

134. *Tribus vicibus*.—Alluding to the triple *Sanctus*.—Apoc., iv. 8.

135. *Zelus*.—The Scholium is as follows:—"De uratione [vastatione, C.] impiorum nolentes [nolentium, C.] Christum credere, et de gaudio iustorum, is the Title.

But this is the Argument: quod dicitur in Apocalypsi, . . . . . *lis ignis consumet aduersarios*, et alibi dicit apostolus, *Mansiones multae sunt apud Patrem*, et Christus dicit, *In domo Patris mei multae mansiones sunt*." The passage here quoted from the Apocalypse really occurs Hebr. x. 27, the scribe having apparently mistaken *Apostolus* for *Apocalypsis*. A part of the first word is illegible; it is probably *terribilis*, from the first clause of the verse. Colgan gives it thus:—"Argum. ut in Apocal. *Tribus ignibus consumet aduersarios*." But no such words occur in the Apoc. The first line of this stanza evidently contains an ancient reading: "*Zelus ignis consumet aduersarios*," which seems more immediately taken from the Greek (*πυρὸς ζῆλος*) than "*ignis æmulationis*," which is the reading of the modern Vulgate, as well as of the Ante-Hieronymian version, as printed by Sabatier. The second passage quoted, *Mansiones multae sunt apud Patrem*, does not occur in any

Quis poterit deo placere nouissimo in tempore  
 Uariatur inrigibus ueritatibus ordinibus  
 Exceptis contemptoribus mundi preparentur ipsis.

Deum patrem ingenitum celi ac terræ dominum  
 Ab eodemque filium pecula ante primogenitum  
 Deumque proprium sanctum uerum unum altissimum  
 Inuoco ut auxilium mihi oportunitissimum  
 Minimo prestat omnium tibi deperuientium  
 Quem angelorum milibus conprociabit dominus.

of the Apostolical Epistles, and is probably only a repetition of the verse quoted immediately after from St. John, xiv. 3: "*In domu Patris mei multe mansiones sunt.*"

138. *Cum ipso*.—The allusion is to 1 Thess. iv. 17.

140. *A seculis in gloria*.—A *seculis in secula*, C., which reading seems more probable; the repetition of "in gloria" being a manifest blunder of transcription.

*Quis potest*.—The two following stanzas are in the smaller and more angular character, which has already been several times noticed. C. omits *Deo*. The Pre-

face tells us that this triplet is to be sung between each "Capitulum" of the Hymn. See p. 223.

*Novissimo*.—Over this word there is the gloss, ".i. in fine mundi," with some other words now illegible.

*Primogenitum*.—A gloss over this word is "vel progenitum;" but this, as well as the reading of the text, is inconsistent with the metre. C. reads *genitum*.

*Angelorum*.—There is a gloss over this word which is almost illegible. All that can be read with any certainty is as follows:—"i. is . . . . . angeli in celo."



## ADDITIONAL NOTES.

### NOTE A.

#### *The Preface to the Hymn.*

THE following is a literal translation of the Preface, which, as usual, is in a mixture of Latin and Irish:—

The Place<sup>a</sup> of this Hymn was Hí<sup>b</sup>. The Time<sup>c</sup> was that of Aedán son of Gabran, King of Alba, and of Aed son of Ainmire, King of Erin. But Mauritius or Focas was then King of the Romans. The Person<sup>d</sup> was Columcille of the noble race of the Scots. He is called Columba, from the text *Estote prudentes sicut serpentes, et simplices sicut Columbæ*. The Cause<sup>e</sup> was because he was desirous of praising God. For seven years he was searching out this Hymn in the Black Cell<sup>f</sup> without light, i. e. beseeching forgiveness for the battle of Cuil Dremne which he had gained<sup>g</sup> over Diarmait son of Cerball<sup>h</sup>, and the other battles that were gained on his account. Vel ut alii dicunt, it was composed extemporaneously; viz.—On a certain day Columcille was in Hí, and no one was with him except Boithin, and they had no food except a sieve full of oats. Then said Columcille to Boithin, “Illustrious guests are coming to us to-day.

<sup>a</sup> *The Place*.—i. e. where it was composed.

<sup>b</sup> *Hí*.—Now called Iona: a curious mistake, as Dr. Reeves has shown, for *Ioua* (the adjective formed from Hí, or I, its ancient name), properly *Insula Ioua*: Reeves' *Adamnan*, Add. Note D, p. 258.

<sup>c</sup> *The Time*.—Our author fixes the date by the reigns of the king of Scotland, Aedan, son of Gabran (A. D. 574-606; O'Flaherty, *Ogyg.* p. 473); the king of Ireland, Aed, son of Ainmire (A. D. 572-599; *ibid.* p. 431); and the Roman emperors, Maurice (A. D. 582-601) and Phocas (A. D. 602 *sq.*). On the chronology of these last the Scholiast speaks doubtfully: “Mauritius or Focas.” St. Columbkille died A. D. 597, before Phocas came to the throne.

<sup>d</sup> *Person*.—i. e. the author of the Hymn. See the genealogy of St. Columba, Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 342 (Geneal. Table).

<sup>e</sup> *Cause*.—i. e. the occasion on which he composed the Hymn.

<sup>f</sup> *Black Cell*.—In *Nigra Cellula*, called in Irish *Duibh-regles*. This was a name of St. Columba's church in Derry in Ireland, Reeves, *ib.* p. 277, *Ord. Mem. of Templemore*, p. 241, and the Preface to this Hymn in the *Leabhar Breacc* has so interpreted it. See p. 223.

<sup>g</sup> *Gained*.—Lit. “broken.” For an account of the battle of Cuil-Dreimne, see Reeves, *ib.* p. 247 *sq.*

<sup>h</sup> *Diarmait son of Cerball*.—King of Ireland, A. D. 544-565. See Reeves, *ibid.* pp. 67, 68, notes.

O Boithin" (namely, the people of Gregory<sup>1</sup>, who came with presents to him), and he said to Boithin, "Remain thou here ministering to the guests, whilst I go to the mill." He took upon him his burden from off a certain stone that was in the Recles<sup>k</sup>, Blathnat<sup>l</sup> was its name, and it exists still; and it is upon it that division is made in the refectory<sup>m</sup>. However his burden was heavy to him, so that he made this Hymn in alphabetical order, from that place until he arrived at the mill, i. e. *Adjutor laborantium*<sup>n</sup>, etc., and when he cast the first charge<sup>o</sup> into the mill, it was then he began the first chapter; and it was at the same time that the grinding of the sack and the composition of the Hymn were finished. And it was extemporaneously it was made thus. In the year five hundred and sixty-five after the birth of Christ, Columbcille came to Hí, as Beda<sup>p</sup> says: "In the year of our Lord's Incarnation, 565, at which time Justinus minor, after Justinian, received the government of the Roman Empire, there came to Britain, from Ireland, a presbyter and abbot, illustrious by the habit and life of a monk, by name Columbus<sup>q</sup>, to preach the word of God to the provinces of the northern Picts<sup>r</sup>". Now Brudi, son of Melcho, was then king of the Picts, and he it was that granted<sup>s</sup> Hí to Columbus, where Columbus was buried, after he had been there seventy-six years, and thirty-three after he had gone to Britain to preach.

Now this Hymn was brought to Gregory to the East, in return for the gifts which were brought from him, viz., the Cross<sup>t</sup>, i. e. the Mórgeimm<sup>u</sup> [great gem] was its name; and the Hymns of the Week<sup>v</sup>. But they interchanged<sup>w</sup> the Hymns. Three chapters were put into it, which Gregory made<sup>x</sup>, viz., *Hic sublatu*s, and

<sup>1</sup> *Gregory*.—Meaning Gregory I., who became Pope A. D. 590. See Reeves, *ibid.* pp. 319, 323.

<sup>k</sup> *The Recles*.—The abbey church of Hí: Reeves, *ib.* p. 276.

<sup>l</sup> *Blathnat*.—The Preface to this Hymn in the Leabhar Breace (see p. 223) calls this stone *Moel-blatha*. Reeves, *ib.* p. 330.

<sup>m</sup> *Refectory*.— $\Pi\rho\omicron\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ , Dinner house: *Domus prandii*.

<sup>n</sup> *Adjutor laborantium*.—This seems to imply that St. Columba on this occasion, whilst carrying his burden to the mill, composed a hymn beginning *Adjutor laborantium* (which does not appear to be now extant); and that the hymn *Altus prosator* was composed during the grinding of the corn. Or are we to understand that the *Altus* was called *Adjutor laborantium*?

<sup>o</sup> *Charge*.— $\text{P}\acute{o}\check{c}a$ . A living word to this day in Munster, to denote the feed or handful given from time to time to a hand-mill.

<sup>p</sup> *Beda*.—*Hist. Eccl.* lib. iii. c. 4.

<sup>q</sup> *Columbus*.—By this form of the name he is frequently called in Scotland to this day. And it is the correct Latinization of the old Irish Colomb gen. Columb (Lib. Ardmach.), a masc. *a*-stem.

<sup>r</sup> *Picts*.—Here the extract from Bede ends; but

the remainder of the passage quoted in the Preface, and which is in Latin, is abridged from Bede, although not in his exact words.

<sup>s</sup> *Granted*.—"Immolavit." See Reeves' *Adamnan*, p. 435.

<sup>t</sup> *The Cross*.—See O'Donnell, *Vit. S. Columb.* lib. ii. c. 20 (Colg., *Triad. Thaum.* p. 412). It would seem that this was an altar cross, decorated with gems, &c. It seems to have been preserved in O'Donnell's time (1532) in Tory Island, but is not now known to exist.—Reeves, *ibid.* p. 319.

<sup>u</sup> *Mórgeimm*.—See Reeves, *ibid.* pp. 318, 319.

<sup>v</sup> *Hymns of the Week*.—i. e. a book containing hymns for every day of the week.—Reeves, *ibid.* Could this have been a copy of the celebrated *Antiphonary* of St. Gregory, still known by his name? See the Preface to this Hymn in the Leabhar Breace, p. 223, *infra*.

<sup>w</sup> *They interchanged*.—i. e. the messengers who brought the Hymn to Pope Gregory substituted stanzas of Gregory's composition instead of the original stanzas of the Hymn. The Preface in the *Leabhar Breace*, and that given by Colgan, represent this as having been done to test the miraculous powers of St. Gregory. The story, as given in the text, is not so intelligible, and there has probably

*Orbem*, and *Vagatur*. Now when they began reading the Hymn to Gregory, the Angels of God came, and they stood until that chapter was come to; Gregory also stood at that part until that time. But when that was passed, the angels sat down; then Gregory sat down, and so the Hymn was finished in that manner. Gregory then demanded from them<sup>a</sup> their confession, for he knew that it was they who had interchanged [the hymns]. And they acknowledged that it was they, and they were forgiven for it. And they said<sup>b</sup> that there was no fault in the Hymn except the scanty praise of the Trinity which it contained *per se*; although He [the Trinity] was praised in His creatures. And this criticism reached Columcille, and that was the cause of his composing [the Hymn] *In Te Christe*.

It is in alphabetical order, after the manner of the Hebrews<sup>c</sup>. It is out of the Catholic Faith the foundation of this chapter<sup>d</sup> was taken, i. e. belief in Unity, with confession of Trinity. And it was made in rhythm; and there are two varieties<sup>e</sup> of that, viz., *Artificialis* and *vulgaris*. "*Artificialis*," where there are feet of equal time and equal division, with an equality in *arsis* and *thesis*<sup>f</sup>, and so that the subsequent comes into the place of the preceding in the resolution. "*Vulgaris*," where there is a correspondence in syllables, and in every verse and half verse<sup>g</sup>, and it is that which is here.

Now there are six lines in each chapter, and sixteen syllables in each line, except that in the first chapter there are seven lines, because in it is the Praise of God; for that odd number is suitable compared with the other chapters, because of the inequality of His creatures<sup>h</sup>; but the number six is in the creatures, because they were made in six days. There ought to be a Title and an Argument before every chapter. \*

been some error of transcription. See O'Donnell, *loc. cit.* c. 21.

<sup>a</sup> *Gregory made*.—The other account (see Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.* p. 473, and the Preface in the Leabhar Breace, p. 224) states that the messengers omitted three chapters of St. Columba's hymn, and substituted three of their own composition.

<sup>b</sup> *Reading*.—Literally of *shewing*; i. e. submitting the hymn to him for his approval; τάρπεντα, gen. sing. of τάρπενος.

<sup>c</sup> *In that manner*.—The meaning is explained by other versions of this Preface. So long as the messengers read the genuine composition of St. Columba, the Angels and the Pope remained *standing*, the posture of reverence; when the readers came to the spurious stanzas, the Angels sat down, and the Pope also sat. In Colgan's version of the story, the Angels are represented as being visible to Gregory during the recitation of the genuine parts of the hymn only, and the Pope stood in reverence to them. But when they vanished at the repetition of the spurious stanzas, the Pope sat down. The Angels of course were visible to Gregory alone. "In this manner" the hymn was finished; the Pope standing during the portions of it that were really

written by Columba, and sitting down when the substituted stanzas were recited.

<sup>a</sup> *From them*.—i. e. from the messengers.

<sup>b</sup> *They said*.—Colgan's version and the Preface in the Leabhar Breace represent this as having been said by Gregory, as his judgment upon the Hymn. But O'Donnell omits the circumstance altogether.

<sup>c</sup> *Of the Hebrews*.—i. e. after the manner of the alphabetical Psalms of the Hebrew Bible.

<sup>d</sup> *This chapter*.—i. e. of the first chapter of the Hymn.

<sup>e</sup> *Two varieties*.—Cpmail, a division, or variety.

<sup>f</sup> *Arsis and thesis*.—Ἀρσις and Θέσις. "*Arsis* est vocis elevatio, id est, initium; *Thesis*, vocis positio, hoc est, finis."—Isidor. Hispal., *Etymolog.* lib. iii. c. 20.

<sup>g</sup> *Half verse*.—This seems to mean that there is assonance or rhyme in the middle of every line: as, *vetustus, ingentius; origine, crepidine; secula, infinita*, &c. See the corresponding passage in the Preface in the Leabhar Breace, p. 225, *infra*.

<sup>h</sup> *Of His creatures*.—i. e. as compared with Him. The first stanza relating to God, and the remainder to His creatures, it was fit that the first should consist of a greater number of lines.

Now the proper manner of singing this Hymn is, that *Quis potest Deo*<sup>1</sup> be sung between every two chapters: and it is thus that its grace shall be [upon him that sings it], because it was so it was sung at first. Now there are many graces upon this Hymn, viz., Angels present whilst it is sung; the Devil shall not know the path of him who sings it every day; and neither shall his enemies perceive him in the day on which he sings it; and, moreover, there shall be no strife in the house in which it is frequently sung. It protects against every kind of death, except death on the pillow; and there shall be neither hunger nor nakedness in the place where it is frequently sung: *et alia multa*<sup>k</sup> sunt.

The Preface in the *Leabhar Breace*, fol. 109 a, differs in some particulars from the foregoing. It is as follows, with a literal translation:

Աւար քրօթօր. Columcille fecit hunc hymnum Երմուռաւ քը քըթեմ անոթ րւ cellula ուղրա .i. րւո ճւնքեղըր մԾօրք Cholumcille. ու րւ Էոհոյնձ Էնա Ծօրձոնձ ւԷ ալիք ԾուքնԷ .i. ԼնԷան քօԲօլ Columcille րւ հիք Է օԷնք ԷԷժ ԲօԷԾին րւ քարքաժ նաՄԱ. ԼՏ Էոժ Էրա քօքալլիքձ Ծօ Columcille օԷլքձ Ծօ ԷիժԷԷԷ Էիւժ .i. Մօքքըքըք ԾԷ ՄոՄԷր Ծրիքօր ԷԷԷԷԷ Էիւժքըք օ Րօմ ԷոքքԷԷԷԷ ԼԷօ Ծօ .i. րւ ՄօրքԷմմ Columcille, .i. Էրօքք ԷրրիժԷ մոՅ, Դ ՄոՄոնձ րւ քԷԷԷԷԷ, Դ ՄոՄոնձ ԷԷԷ ռօժԷ րւԷԷԷԷԷԷ Դ ԷԷԷ Ծօնա. Րօլքքքք Էրա Columcille Ծօ ԲօԷԾին Էիժ Ծօ Բիժ Բօլ րւո ԷիժԷԷԷ. ԱԷա, օլ ԲօԷԷԷԷ, ԷրաԷԷԷ Էօքք Էն. ԲրիԷԷԷ րւ հաքձ Է ԲօԷԷԷ, օլ Columcille, ԷոժԷԷԷԷ Ծօն ԷիւլԷն. Լքքր ԴԷԷ Էրա Columcille քար րւ մԷօլԷ Ծօն ԷլօլԷ քլ րւ քքօնԷԷ րւ հիք, Դ րւ Է հաՄմ րւ ԷլօԷլ քր, ՄօԷԷԷԷԷ, Դ քօնք քօրձԷԷ քօք ԷԷ միւլձ Ծօքքք քօքր. Լք րար օԷ Ծլ Ծօ Columcille Ծօն միւլԷն րւ Էոժ Ծօքքք րւ ՄոՄմ ԲԷքք .i. Աժիւթքր Լօքքքքքք. Դ րւ րարքձ քքքքքք ԷԷ.

ԼնԷան Էրա Ծօրք Columcille րւ ԷԷԷԷԷ

*Altus prosetor.* Columcille fecit hunc hymnum Trinitati per septem annos in cellula nigra, i. in the Black Reeces in Derry of Columcille, or as others say, it was composed extemporaneously<sup>1</sup>, viz., at the time when Columcille was at Hy alone, Boethin only excepted. And it was then revealed to Columcille that guests were coming to him, viz., seven of the people of Gregory who came to him from Rome with gifts for him, viz., the *Mórgemm*<sup>m</sup> [great gem] of Columcille, that is, a cross, extant this day; and the Hymn of the week, and a hymn for every night of the week, and other gifts. Then Columcille asked Boethin how much food there was in the kitchen: "There is," said Boethin, "a sieve of oats there." "Attend thou to the strangers, O Boethin," said Columcille, "whilst I go to the mill." After this Columcille took upon him the sack from the stone that is in the refectory in Hy, and the name of that stone is *Moel-blatha*, and luck was left upon all food that is laid upon it. It was after that, when Columcille was going to the mill, that he composed this little hymn, i.e. *Adjutor laborantium*<sup>n</sup>; and it is in alphabetical order it is.

When Columcille had put the first feed into the

<sup>1</sup> *Quis potest Deo*.—This antiphon occurs at the end of the Hymn. See p. 219, *supra*.

<sup>2</sup> *On the pillow*.—i.e. it protects from all kinds of violent death, but not from ordinary or natural death. Cf. Reeves' *Adamnan*, pp. 37, 44.

<sup>k</sup> *Alia multa*.—i.e. there are many other privileges, *alia multa gratia*, attached to the singing of

this Hymn.

<sup>1</sup> *Extemporaneously*.—There are here two accounts: one, that this Hymn occupied its author seven years of study; the other, that it was composed extemporaneously. See above, p. 220.

<sup>m</sup> *Mórgemm*.—See above, p. 221.

<sup>n</sup> *Laborantium*.—See above, p. 221, note<sup>n</sup>.



in bel in muilnib úr and dochuaid in ceud  
mò Altur, ⁊ úr inulle popeaig inuimón do  
benuim oenp inarbus do bleit; ⁊ n̄ t̄na  
torab̄ p̄putam doponab̄, p̄b̄ p̄p̄ ḡratiam  
Domini.

In tempore Aedán m̄c Gabran n̄g Al-  
han, ⁊ Aeda m̄c Ammírech n̄g Erinn, ⁊  
Falcus bin ba n̄ Rómam inatann.

Causa, quia uoluit deum laudare .i. do  
cūmēib̄ uilguda dona t̄pi cathaib̄ do-  
pome inCipim̄ .i. Cath Cūile Rathm̄ in Dal Araide  
etappu ⁊ Comgall [bennchuip] ⁊ cornam  
chille .i. Ross torathair, ⁊ cath belai-  
g feda appab̄ Chluana h̄lparb̄ ⁊ cath Cuile  
dremne ⁊ connac̄ta, ⁊ ba do Diarmait mac  
Cerbail̄ dopata aib̄. Ductur̄ est ad Ḡri-  
gorium, et pupat̄i p̄nt̄ min̄p̄r̄ t̄pia capi-  
tula de p̄, .i. hic publat̄ur ⁊ Orbem̄ m̄p̄ra,  
⁊ Ch̄ip̄to de coel̄p̄, ⁊ t̄pia capitula p̄po eip̄  
m̄p̄p̄p̄p̄unt, ⁊ min̄p̄r̄p̄ cantantib̄p̄ s̄m-  
num Ḡrigorio, Ḡrigoriur̄ hic sup̄p̄x̄it,  
donec̄ aud̄p̄et aliena capitula t̄pia. Et  
iterum̄ p̄dit̄ donec̄ p̄p̄p̄ria. Sup̄p̄x̄it  
iterum̄ ⁊ dix̄it ill̄p̄ conf̄itemini quod̄ eḡi-  
t̄p̄. Ill̄p̄ conf̄ep̄p̄unt, ⁊ dix̄it ill̄p̄ cantate  
iḡit̄ur̄ s̄mnum̄ pecundum̄ ordinem̄ a p̄uo  
auctore dictum̄, ⁊ ill̄p̄ cantauerunt, ⁊ ille  
p̄p̄t̄ laudauit̄ laud̄p̄. Sed̄ dix̄it, min̄p̄  
quam̄ debuit̄ Deus̄ memorari in eo memo-  
rat̄ur̄ est. P̄p̄ep̄nt̄ angeli p̄mp̄p̄ p̄ue-  
p̄unt̄ quando cantatur̄, p̄ic̄ ub̄it̄ Ḡrigoriur̄  
angelor̄. Multe p̄nt̄ ḡratie s̄mni huius̄.  
Quisq̄uip̄ eum cantauer̄it p̄p̄ep̄nt̄  
nunquam̄ ad p̄p̄p̄ecutionem̄ inimicor̄um̄ ⁊

mouth of the mill, it was then that he began the  
*Altus*; and it was at one and the same time that  
the hymn was composed, and the grinding of the  
corn completed; and it was not as the result of  
study it was composed, *sed per gratiam Domini*.

[It was composed] in the time of Aedan son of  
Gabhran, King of Alba, and of Aed son of Ain-  
mire, King of Erin, and Falcus [Phocas] was the  
King of the Romans at that time.

The Cause was because he was desirous of prais-  
ing God, i. e. to ask forgiveness for the three battles  
which he had caused in Erin, viz., the battle of Cuil  
Rathain [Coleraine] in Dal Araide, between him and  
Comgall [of Bennechor] contending for a church, viz.,  
Ross Torathair; and the battle of Belach-feda, of  
the weir of Clonard; and the battle of Cul Dremne  
in Connacht; and it was against Diarmait Mac Cer-  
baill he fought them both. Ductus<sup>o</sup> est ad Gre-  
gorium, et furati sunt ministri tria capitula de se,  
viz., *Hic sublatus, et Orbem infra, et Christo de  
calis*. Et tria capitula pro eis inseruerunt, et minis-  
tris cantantibus ymnus Grigorio, Grigorius hic  
surrexit, donec audiret aliena capitula tria; et ite-  
rum sedit donec propria. Surrexit iterum, et dixit  
illis Confitemini quod egistis; illi confesserunt, et  
dixit illis Cantate igitur ymnus secundum ordinem  
a suo auctore dictum; et illi cantauerunt, et ille  
post laudavit laudes. Sed dixit, minus<sup>a</sup> quam de-  
buit Deus memorari in eo memoratus est. Presentes  
Angeli semper fuerunt quando cantatur; sic vidit  
Gregorius angelos. Multe sunt gratie hymni huius.  
Quisquis eum cantaverit frequenter nunquam ad  
persecutionem inimicorum et demonum eveniet ei  
quod timet pervenire; et nesciet diabolus mortem  
ejus. Et liberet ab omni morte absque pretiosa<sup>1</sup>, et

<sup>o</sup> Both.—See Reeves' *Adamnan*, pp. 253-4.

<sup>v</sup> Ductus.—i. e. Hymnus ductus est. See above,  
p. 221.

<sup>a</sup> Ministri.—i. e. those who brought the Hymn  
to Gregory.

<sup>r</sup> Christo.—In the Preface (Book of Hymns, see  
p. 221, *supra*), and also in Colgan's Preface,  
the third stanza, said to have been omitted by St.  
Columba's messengers, was *Vagatur ex climatico*.

<sup>a</sup> Minus.—This is the same objection which is  
stated above (p. 222), and in Colgan's Preface (see  
p. 227, *infra*), that the author had not been suffi-  
ciently earnest in the praise of the Trinity.

<sup>1</sup> Pretiosa.—Over this word is the gloss, .i. bap̄  
pe habap̄r, "i. e. death on the pillow" (see above,  
p. 223). Is there an allusion here to the text,  
"Pretiosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum  
ejus," the meaning of "absque pretiosa" being "ex-

demonum eueniet ei quod timeat peruenire, et neperiet diabulus mortem eius. Et liberet ab omni morte abique periculis, et non erit in inferno post diem iudicii, etiam in mala multa egerit, et habebit diuitias multas, et longitudinem seculi. There is alphabetical order in this hymn after the manner of the Hebrews<sup>u</sup>. The number of letters in the alphabet is the number of chapters that is in this hymn. It is not, however, at the sides of their chapters that the Hebrews place their letters, but each letter is over its chapter to the end of the hymn. And the reason of that is, that they have a meaning<sup>w</sup> in all their letters [*leg. in omnibus literis eorum*], and this is the meaning that runs through the chapters. And this is the reason why the Hebrews have followed the order of their own alphabet (*i. xxii. littere apud Hebræos*), because there are twenty-two books in the Old Testament<sup>x</sup>. But the reason why the Greeks have twenty-four letters is, because there are ten senses of man, and ten Commandments of the Law, and four Gospels. And the reason why the Romans have three-and-twenty letters is, that there are ten senses of man, and ten Commandments of the Law, and the Trinity.

Quia pietatum dona donanda incommensa, et atque diuina epinali porporibus .i. apertioribus et uulgariis. apertioribus epse ubi sunt pedes cum temporibus æquus et æqua diuisione et cum æquo pondere, .i. apertius et tepius, et ubi sunt pubrequenter pro precedente in iure resolutionis. Ipse hi morpno in uulgariis du mmbf in pncepai

non erit in inferno post diem iudicii, etiamsi mala multa egerit, et habebit diuitias multas, et longitudinem seculi. There is alphabetical order in this hymn after the manner of the Hebrews<sup>u</sup>. The number of letters in the alphabet is the number of chapters that is in this hymn. It is not, however, at the sides of their chapters that the Hebrews place their letters, but each letter is over its chapter to the end of the hymn. And the reason of that is, that they have a meaning<sup>w</sup> in all their letters [*leg. in omnibus literis eorum*], and this is the meaning that runs through the chapters. And this is the reason why the Hebrews have followed the order of their own alphabet (*i. xxii. littere apud Hebræos*), because there are twenty-two books in the Old Testament<sup>x</sup>. But the reason why the Greeks have twenty-four letters is, because there are ten senses of man, and ten Commandments of the Law, and four Gospels. And the reason why the Romans have three-and-twenty letters is, that there are ten senses of man, and ten Commandments of the Law, and the Trinity.

Now this Hymn is composed in Rhythm, of which there are two kinds, *Artificialis* and *Vulgaris*. The *Artificialis* is where the feet are made with equal times, and equal division, and with equal weight, viz., *arsis* and *thesis*; and where the subsequent is for the precedent in the right of resolution. And this is the *Vulgaris*, where there is correspondence of syllables, in quatrains and half quatrains; and

cept that death, which is precious in the sight of the Lord" (Ps. cxvi. 15), viz., Martyrdom.

<sup>u</sup> *Hebrews*.—See above, p. 222, note c.

<sup>v</sup> *Over its chapter*.—The allusion is evidently to Ps. cxviii. (*Heb. cxix.*), where the acrostical or alphabetical order is not in the verses, but in stanzas of eight verses; and the Latin MSS. of the Bible usually write the name of the Hebrew letter, ALEPH, BETH, &c., over each stanza. In like manner, the acrostical letter in the present Hymn belongs to the stanza of six verses, but, as our scholiast remarks, is written, not *over*, but *at the side* of each stanza.

<sup>w</sup> *A meaning*.—i. e. the Hebrew letters have each a particular signification: *Aleph* is an ox; *Beth*, a house; *Gimel*, a camel, &c.; and the stanzas commencing with these letters have a meaning corresponding to the signification of the letters. It would be very difficult to justify this theory by actual analysis of the Psalm.

<sup>x</sup> *Old Testament*.—The Irish is *petaplaicc*, sometimes written *betepleic* and *petaplaicc*, which is not a Celtic word, but probably a corruption of the Latin *vetus lex*; or rather, perhaps, of the older *base* of those words.

pillad, .i. ceethpunnethan, 7 lechpanad; oenp  
 iped rin pil ipin munim. Sex liniae in oppo  
 in unoquoque capitulo, excepto primo ca-  
 pitulo; oenp ie pillad .x. in ead line. 7  
 .iii. linia in primo capitulo. Cubad tria  
 renardachit do heith ipia capteclaid in  
 paul munim donbulib porporbatheda tria  
 penap. Cubad in oppo peptenapdachit  
 do heith ipin chapteul ap in fathra. .i.  
 quod nariat de deo, quod deup inpar ep  
 epeaturip iurp. uel .iii. gnobur ecclesiae  
 pignificat, uel quod peptenariur unuer-  
 pitatem pignificat. uel .iii. dona ppiurur  
 paneti pignificat.

Robe tria dliged gabala ind munreo co  
 pozabtha (sup potert, etip cad da chap-  
 teul de. Oenp ip de rin nobiad a pacht parp,  
 ap ip amlad pocet aptur. ppl.

this is what is in this Hymn. Now there are six  
 lines in every *Capitulum*, except the first *Capitu-  
 lum*, and sixteen syllables in every line; and seven  
 lines in the first *capitulum*. It is fit that there  
 should be six lines in which is narrated all that was  
 finished in six days. And it is fit that there should  
 be seven lines in that [first] chapter, for this reason,  
 because it tells of God, for God is not comparable to  
 His creatures; or it signifies the seven grades of the  
 Church; or that the number seven denotes univer-  
 sality; or it signifies the seven gifts of the Holy  
 Ghost.

And the rule for singing this hymn is, that *Quis  
 potest* be sung between every two chapters of it.  
 And it is thus that one may have the benefit of it,  
 for it was thus it was first sung, etc.

On the lower margin of the page of the *Leabhar Breacc*, in which the foregoing  
 Preface occurs, there is the following quatrain, in a hand coeval with the MS. :—

Seib in altur cobapecht.  
 Na dam cept do deman dur.  
 Nupil galap ipin bith.  
 Na cith na cuippe pop cul.,

Sing the Altus seven times,  
 Yield not thy right to the hard<sup>r</sup> demon.  
 There is no disease in the world,  
 No difficulty that it will not banish<sup>r</sup>.

The following is Colgan's abridged translation of the Preface given in his MS.,  
 which is supposed to be the same that is now preserved in the College of S. Isidore at  
 Rome :—

Locus, in quo hic Hymnus compositus erat, est Insula Iliensis. Author S. Columba Kille de nobili genere  
 Scotorum. Tempore Aidi filij Annirij, Ilibernie Regis, et Aidani filij Gaurani, Regis Albanie, seu Scotie  
 Albiensis; fuit compositus. Causa motiva fuit, tum vt Deus in suis operibus laudetur, tum ad deprecand-  
 am veniam propter tria praelia inter Ilibernie Principes conserta, quibus adoriundis S. Columba causam  
 præbuit. Erant hæc, praelium de *Cuilrathen*, praelium de *Cuilfeadha*, et praelium de *Cuile-dreimne*. Ferunt  
 nonnulli S. Columbam septem annis materiam hujus Hymni meditatam, antequam ipsum Opusculum com-  
 posuerit. Alii verò tradunt ipsum ex tempore illud composuisse tali occasione. Cum S. Columba et  
 S. Baitheneus die quadam in Insula Iliensi ab alijs sequestrati agerent; S. Columba ad Baithenum ait;

<sup>r</sup> *Hard*.—Obdurate, tyrannical, hard-hearted.

<sup>r</sup> *Banish*.—Literally, put behind.

Fili supervenient hodie nobiles et peregrini hospites à Gregorio Pontifice Summo cum gratis donarijs ad nos missi. Equum ergo est tantis hospitibus de decente refectioe provideatur. Et cum postea vir Sanctus intelligeret nihil domi reperiri, quo vilo modo etiam minus decenter, quam par erat, possent refici, præter vnam frumenti mensuram; tunc ipse cucurrit festinus ad vicinum molendinum: et antequam molendinum injecta grana contriverat, vel in farinam resolverat, ipse Hymnum absolvit. Ordine Alphabetico Hymnus hic compositus est. Quelibet ejus strophæ (excepta prima, quæ septem constat) sex versiculis, seu lineis constat; et singulæ lineæ sedecim syllabis. Opusculum hoc iam absolutum, fuit ab auctore per quosdam discipulos præsentatum et oblatum Gregorio Magno Pontifici in recognitionem pretiosissimi donarii (nempè Sanctissimæ Crucis, quæ *Mor-gheam*, id est Magna, seu Pretiosa gemma, vocatur) quod idem Sanctissimus Pontifex ante S. Columbæ per suos legatos miserat. Pro tribus autem capitulis, seu strophis ejusdem Opusculi, à S. Columba compositis; qui incipiunt; *Ille sublatus è medio*, &c. *Orbem infra et legimus*, &c. *Vagatur ex clivatico*, &c. discipuli ejus legati substituerunt tres alios à se compositos, vel animo expiscandi summè tunc prædicatam S. Pontificis virtutem et sanctimoniam; vel reverà dispositione occulta Divini Numinis volentis utriusque Sancti eximiam virtutem reddere orbi notioem. Cùm enim Hymnus ille coràm Gregorio recitaretur, Angeli Dei recitantes stipabant: quibus visis Pontifex Sanctus è sede assurgens, in pedes se erexit; et sic stans venerabundus perstitit, donec ad supposititias strophas perventum esset: quibus legi cæptis Angeli recedebant, ac illis recedentibus Pontifex illicò in sede subsedit. Ac postquam jam tertio alternatis vicibus Pontifex ad lectionem suppositiorum capitulorum resedisset, ac ad genuinorum resumptionem assurrexisset; tandem finitâ Hymni lectione Gregorius Hymnum depravatum esse in spiritu recognoscens, missos nuncios adiurat, quatenus fateantur, an ipsi vel alij aliqua in Hymno immutaverint. Illi religione percussi, suam culpam, miraculo proditam, fatentur, veniamque supplices deprecantur, ac obtinent à Clementi Pontifice, qui et Opusculum magnopere laudavit, solumque illud sibi in eo displicere dixit, quod author parcius in eo de Trinitate disseruerit, quam optaret. Et hæc fuit occasio, ob quam S. Columba composuerit alium subsequentem Hymnum, qui incipit; *In te Christe credentium* &c. Plures piè creduntur gratiæ et virtutes huic Hymno divinitus concessæ. Prima, quod piè eum recitantes, nec à dæmone sint infestandi, nec ab hoste vulnerandi, eo die quo eum recitaverint. Secunda, quod à litibus et discordijs domus illa sit immunis in qua consueverit recitari. Tertia, quod locus in quo consueverit recitari, à fame et inopia sit præservandus. Quarta, quod quotidie eum recitans, non aliâ quam naturali et placida morte sit interiturus, &c.—*Triad. Thaum.*, p. 473.

O'Donnell, in his Life of St. Columba, as published in a Latin abridgment by Colgan, has also given the Legend relating to the occasion of composing the Altus, in a form evidently taken from some copy of the Book of Hymns. As Colgan's work is very scarce, and as this narrative shows how O'Donnell understood some passages of the Prefaces, it may be well to insert his version of the story here:—

Sanctus Gregorius Papa cùm die quadam Romæ in sua Ecclesia sacrosancto interesset Missæ sacrificio, vidit crucem ligneam Angelorum manibus super altare collocari: quam quidam ex adstantibus Clericis dùm inde levare aut aliò transferre niterentur, nequaquam loco dimovere potuerunt. Cunctis eam ob rem admiratione attonitis, summus ipse Pontifex accessit, crucemque continuò levans; Hæc, inquit, palàm ad adstantes, nec mihi, nec cuiquam vestrum; sed cuidam Dei servo, cui nomen Columba, extremum orbem incolenti, à Deo est destinata! Quare accersitos quosdam Clericos jubet ut se itineri accingant, et demissum cælitis donum præmemorato Christo famulo in Hy insulam perferant. Ijs profectis, et jam Hiensi cænobio vicinis S. Columba de eorum adventu et suscepti itineris causa ab Angelo admonitus; hac nocte, inquit ad suos, venerabiles ad nos hospites Gregorij Papæ nuntij divertent: curate igitur ut ijs bene sit de cæna provisum.



Paulo post cum illi advenissent, nihilque in Monasterio repertum, quod tantis hospitibus dignum erat apponi, præter unum subcineritium panem, et poculum unum vini in usum sacrificij reservatum; vir Sanctus eam ob rem verecundatus, illa ipsa adferri iussa in Christi nomine benedixit, et iam hospitibus apposita, Christo annuente sic multiplicavit, ut hospitibus totique familie reficiendis abundè suffecerint. Porro nuntii Pontificis commissum donum viro Sancto consignarunt; estque illud celebre monumentum quod in Torachia occidentua Hiberniæ insula (cujus supra mentio sæpius facta est) in memoriam Columbæ asseruatum Crux magna vulgò appellatur.

Post hæc S. Columba tres è suis discipulis Romam ablegavit, qui rythmum quem in Sanctissime Trinitatis laudem ipse composuerat paucis multis obstrusiora sacræ scripturæ mysteria complexus, Sancto Gregorio Magno præsentarent. Nuntii ergò Romam perlati priusquam creditam opellam Pontifici porrexerant, tria ex eius medio capitula, substitutis totidem, quæ ipsi fuerant commenti, temerè expunxerunt, experimentum scilicet ea re facturi an Gregorius cujus tùm fama sanctitatis increbuerat, supposititia metra à reliquis discerneret; vel an pari laudi utraque commendaret. Rythmum itaque sic interpolatum cum Sancto Antistiti præsentassent, et coràm eo, eique assistente purpuratorum corona iussi legere cœpissent. Magnus Pontifex se in pedes erexit, sicque venerabundus perstitit, donec ad apochripa illa capitula perventum erat: quibus legi cœptis, continuò resedit; sed iam perlectis iterato surgens, reliqua stans excepit. Ad hæc admirati quidam præsentium optimatum, cum insuetæ et aliquantisper interruptæ venerationis causam seiscitarentur; respondit Pontifex se ideò, dùm Rythmi initium perlegeretur, stetisse, quod intereà Angelos Sanctos stipasse legentium latera conspexisset; postea verò subsedis, quòd boni Genii aliquantisper disparuissent; iisque iterum se venerabundum surrexisse, et in eo situ in finem perseverasse. Ad hæc audita nuntii simul admiratione attoniti, simul etiam religione perculsi, suam imposturam, certam scilicet interruptæ Angelorum præsentiae causam humiliter fassi, temeritatis veniam obtinuerunt à Clementi Pontifice; qui et oblatum rythmum magnopere laudavit, et authorem Apostolicæ sedis indultis auctum, suo nomine salutari mandavit.—*Triad. Thaum.*, p. 412.

## NOTE B.

### *The Gloss in the Leabhar Breacc.*

As the various readings of the text, or rather fragment of the text, of this Hymn, preserved in the *Leabhar Breacc*<sup>a</sup>, have been already fully given in the notes, it will only be necessary to publish here the interlinear Gloss which occurs in that MS. It is quite different from the Gloss in the *Liber Hymnorum*, although in some places they coincide, as if taken from some common source. It is necessary to state that this fragment contains only the stanzas or "Capitula" A to H, inclusive. The numbers refer to the lines of the Hymn.

1. *Altus*<sup>b</sup>. bñd tñd altur 7 almur hic plumb huaple, et ideo ponitur hic, qñ plumbid huaple acur ipse do ut cicepo dicat altum mape et altum celum. Almur moppo

<sup>a</sup> *Leabhar Breacc*.—"Speckled Book," in Old Irish *leabán brecc*. The adjective *Breacc* has generally hitherto been spelt *Breac*, incorrectly, however; the ancient orthography was *brecc*, as is

shown by the corresponding word in Welsh, viz., *brych*, where the *ch* has certainly arisen from the combination *cc*, as in *iechuit* (sanitas), Old Irish *fcc*; *bichan* (parvus), O. Ir. *becc*; *pechaut*

hucuple tantum torneip. ["Now altus and almus both denote nobility: and therefore it (viz. *altus*) is put here, for it denotes high and low, as Cicero says, *Altum mare, et altum cælum*. *Almus* signifies nobleness only."]

*Prosetor*<sup>c</sup>. In the margin is this note, "Seminator, vitis; sertor, agri; sator, horti; sero, sevi, statum [*leg. satum*]; uminor, idem; sator; prosero, vi, prositatum; incop conteni [the *tor* makes] prosetor."

*Vetustus*<sup>d</sup>. .i. qui sperit [*qu. fuerat*] ante tempore.

*Dierum*. dies .i. a dividendo lucem a tenebris.

2. *Absque origine*. .i. Deus Pater origine erat prius in tempore.

*Primordi*. .i. quando in forma venit, vel materia uniuscuiusque rei in masa [*leg. massa*].

*Crepidine*<sup>e</sup>. .i. cen poccend [without end], ap rogabap erepido hic in cōpc cñich no cen-pochā [for erepido is sometimes found to signify end or termination], ut in lege dicitur s[acerdos decurrere faciet] sanguinem ad crepidinem altaris, id est, ad fundamentum [Lev. i. 15].

3. *Est et erit*<sup>f</sup>. .i. non proprie dicitur de deo erat, vel erit, sed tantum est, quia presens est; sed elementa erant ante, quia ut augustinus ait erant in notitia dei et non erant sua natura.

4. *Cui est*<sup>g</sup>. .i. nemo potest esse est.

*Christus*. .i. misias in ebreo, christus in greco, unctus in latino

5. *Coeternus*<sup>h</sup>. .i. ut dicitur genuit verbum omni modo simile sibi qua locutio patris est filius ut dicit dauid semel locutus est [Ps. lxi. 12] id est filium unum genuit.

6. *Non tris*. .i. si dicamus tris personas unum esse deum confitemur, si unum deum confitemur tris personas credimus, .i. ut dicit hironimus<sup>i</sup> si unus sol est in intigra cum luce et calore, ita est sol deus pater, lux est filius, calor est spiritus sanctus.

8. *Creavit*. Deus .i. altus prosetor.

*Angelos*. .i. angelus grece. maloch, ebreice. nuntius, latine.

9. *Sedium*. .i. tronum [*read* thronorum].

10. *Uti*. .i. prout.

*Bonitas*. .i. Dei benevolentia. *Otiosa*. .i. deacht no dñmám. .i. cen maine deipniud [lazy or idle, i. e. not to bestow wealth].

11. *Trinitatis*. .i. trinitas quasi trina unitas.

(peccat-um), O. Ir. peccad; *mynych* (frequens), O. Ir. menicc; and the other examples given by Zeuss, *Gramm. Celtica*, i. 173.

<sup>b</sup> *Altus*.—This is an attempt to explain why *altus*, not *almus*, is used in the Hymn: *altus* having a more extensive signification.

<sup>c</sup> *Prosetor*.—This note is intended to give the etymology of *Prosetor*. It explains that we use *seminator*, of a vine; *sertor*, of land; and *sator*, of a garden. *Uminor* ought probably to be *seminor*. There is evidently some corruption; but the meaning seems to be that, as from *sero*, *sevi*, *satum*, comes *sator*, so also from *prosero*, *prosevi*, *prosa-tum*, we have the noun in *tor*, "*prosetor*."

<sup>d</sup> *Vetustus*.—The word *sperit* in this Gloss seems a mistake. Perhaps we should read *fuit*, or *fuerat*.

<sup>e</sup> *Crepidine*.—See the note on this word, p. 206, *supra*.

<sup>f</sup> *Est et erit*.—The Editor has been unable to find the words here quoted from St. Augustine.

<sup>g</sup> *Cui est*.—The reference is probably to Exod. iii. 14, "Nemo potest esse est."

<sup>h</sup> *Coeternus*.—The interpretation here given to the words, "semel locutus est," will be found in St. Augustine; *Enarr.* in Ps. lxi. 12, "Apud se semel Deus locutus est, quia unum Verbum genuit Deus."

<sup>i</sup> *Hironimus*.—The Editor has not found this passage in St. Jerome's works.

*Largiatatis*. 1. արք երևաբ որօր նա բրա ածնի [because God was munificent to his creatures].

12. *Haeret.* Ut.

*Celestia*, .i. misterio, vel elementa.

*Privilegia.* [sic] .i. pomuð no ðerpuðuð anðil fech na ðáli archeda [the great dignity or illustriousness of angels above all the other creatures].

13. *Magnopere*. ἡ. ἡμῶν ἡγετική [leg. ἡμῶν ἡγετική, which is an exact translation of *magnopere*].

*Fatimini*, i. e. ounds up person [from the word *feteor* (i. e. *fateor* or *fator*)].

14. *Celi*. i. Celum a celsitudine sua nomen rectissime accepit.

*Apice.* Apicem dicit. .i. culmen regni aut summitatem.

15. *Venustate*, i. quasi honorabilitate. *Speciminis*, γ. na delbi, no m ḡnée [of the countenance, or outward appearance].

*Lucifer*, i. lucem ferens.

*Formaverat.* i. deus.

16. *Apostataeque*. .i. nanbipceimnech [the fallen ones] apostata grece: reccesor a fide vel viles [*read*  
vilib] interpretatur.

*Lugubri.* .i. lugubri. i. flebili. i. immoribus da doibym uobeyrym ꝥ dona duibz qreca uayr iomell tarymtecht angelopum iat [.i. in great melancholy to themselves, and to other creatures also, because the transgression of the angels deceived them].

18. *Cenodoxiae*. i. ceno, uanae, doxia grece gloria interpretatur. .i. in perpetuo p[er]p[et]ui [of the perpetual oblivion], a diabulo contra hominem.

19. *Ceteris*. .i. angeli perfecti.

*In suis principatibus.* .i. in proposito suo perseverant in celo.

20. *Draco*. i. diabolus, duplex consiliator interpretatur; dia, Grece, duo, latine; bulus, Grece, consiliator, latine.

21. *Serpens*. .i. in aylach forádam [the tempting of Adam].

21. *Lubricus*. .i. lubricus, eoque ibi labitur, lubrum .i. cranb in opiente popi na lenam cuile ap a (†)lēmni pēb cabent, ⁊ doberap uab ap caē plemōn ⁊ eōm bte m abap ⁊ y ōi dūa cacepōe doḡmēthēd in pīpīc [i.e. a tree in the East on which flies stick because of its lubricity, *sed cadent*, and from it the name is given to everything slippery; and it is from the dung of birds that live in its top that the silk was manufactured].

*Sapientior.* .i. sapientia fit in bono et in malo, in bono ut dicitur, initium sapientie timor domini, ut dicit christus, perdam sapientiam sapientium huius mundi, vel sapientia bubbbu [folly], ut dicit sapientia huius mundi.

22. *Bestiis*. i. bestia ab essu [from eating] more feriatatis [sic] dicta est.

*Terrae.* .i. terra dicta est a torrento, coque commouentium gressibus atteritur.

*Ferocioribus.* .i. ferox eoque feriatatem exerceat.

23. *Tertiam partem. .i. graduum celestium.*

*Siderum.* .i. angelorum.

*Traxit. .i. draco.*

*Barathron.* .i. in puteum .i. quasi voratrum .i. uorago ut circirius [?] dicit, Baratrum .i. hiatus terre .i. putercus in profundo maris et terre. Baratrum .i. loc illáτερ penopi γη ní tellγιτιen ap co háρ. γ βοβερup uab ap eachi γnam apchena [i. e. a place into which old people are cast, they are not let out of it till death, and the name is given from it to every kind of incarceration besides].

24. *Infernalium*. .i. in puteum.  
*Carcerum*. .i. isidorus dicit eo quod homines coercentur. [*Etymol.* lib. v. c. 27, xv. c. 2.]
25. *Refugas*. .i. elathcha [i. deserters].  
*Veri luminis*. .i. christi.  
*Parasito*. .i. parasita,  $\pi\alpha\rho\iota\tau\epsilon\sigma\iota$  no  $\beta\rho\epsilon\alpha\pi\epsilon$  no  $\beta\rho\epsilon\chi\upsilon\tau\eta$  [i. parasita, a buffoon or deluder, or a stinking pond, den, or dungeon].  
*Precipites*. .i.  $\text{innat}[\eta]\alpha\rho\alpha\rho\tau\iota$  a  $\delta\iota\alpha\beta\upsilon\lambda\omicron$  [i. e. cast down by the devil].
26. *Excelsus*. .i. deus .i. quasi valde excelsus.  
*Machinam*. i.  $\text{innair}$  no  $\text{m chuithech}$  [the mass, or the machine].  
*Armoniam*. .i.  $\text{intimchubduir}$   $\pi\iota\lambda$   $\epsilon\tau\iota\rho$  na  $\delta\upsilon\iota\lambda\epsilon$  [the harmony which is between the creatures], ut dicit boetius<sup>1</sup>, .i.  $\delta\upsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$  o  $\delta\upsilon\iota\mu\epsilon$  [between man and man] et cetera.
27. *Celum et terram*. .i. pro omni creatura uisibile, vel corpus.  
*Mare*. .i. seculum vel scriptura.  
*Aguas*.  $\mu\alpha\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon$ , ebraice; maron, grece; mare, latine dicitur; aquas dicuntur tribulationes seculi, vel doctrina scripturæ.
28. *Herbarum*. .i. herba quasi serpa, eo quod serpit.  
*Virgultorum*. .i.  $\text{innacille}$  no  $\text{innapuba}$  [i. e. of the wood, or of the forest].  
*Arbuscula*. .i. na  $\pi\upsilon\alpha\lambda\alpha\pi\epsilon\alpha\chi\alpha$ .
29. *Solem*. .i. christum.  
*Lunam*. .i. ecclesiam.  
*Sidera*. .i. iusti.  
*Ignem*. .i. uindictæ vel gratiæ, et preces sancti.  
*Bestias*. .i. ferociorese seculi, ut dicitur, quicquid ore bibit bestia nominatur.
31. *Hominem*. .i. adam vel christum. *Demum* .i.  $\pi\alpha\delta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\theta$ .  
*Regere*. .i. omnia elementa.  
*Protoplastum*. .i.  $\epsilon\epsilon\tau\chi\rho\upsilon\tau\alpha$  [first-formed], protos, grece; primus, latine; plastum, grece; formatum latine dicitur; vel protoplastum grece, corpus latine dicitur.
32. *Etheris*. .i.  $\text{metheor}$  [of the ether, or air].
33. *Conlaudaverunt*. Postquam creati sunt dicentes, sanctus, sanctus, sanctus dominus deus sabaoth.  
*Præmirabili*. .i.  $\alpha\rho\iota\mu\text{noppe}\theta$   $\text{nbermair}$  [i. e. on the great operator].
34. *Molis*. Non corporalis molis.  
*Presagmine*<sup>k</sup>. Presagmine .i. o  $\epsilon\chi\alpha\rho\epsilon\tau\upsilon\lambda$  no o  $\rho\lambda\omicron\gamma\alpha\rho\epsilon\mu\epsilon\text{ncech}\tau$  [leg.  $\rho\lambda\omicron\gamma$   $\alpha\rho\epsilon\mu\epsilon\text{ncech}\tau$ ]  $\alpha\rho$   $\pi\rho\epsilon\upsilon\lambda$   $\eta$   $\alpha\gamma\mu\epsilon\text{n}$   $\pi\iota\lambda\alpha\theta$   $\eta$   $\eta\rho\epsilon\theta$   $\rho\epsilon\iota\text{n}$   $\rho\omicron\beta\omicron\iota$   $\delta\omicron$   $\alpha\delta\alpha\mu$  [i. e. from instruction, or from host-leadership: for *presul* and *agmen* are in it; and that is what was Adam's]  $\text{ut dicitur c}^{\text{ic}}$ , donavit deus cuncta. Adam vero nominibus ea nominavit.  
*Opificem*. .i.  $\gamma\text{nm}b\text{enma}^{\text{ir}}$ . .i. opus et faciens.
35. *Preconio*. .i.  $\text{on}^{\text{d}}\text{ur}^{\text{d}}\text{on}^{\text{al}}$   $\text{n}^{\text{al}}\text{b}^{\text{e}}\text{ch}^{\text{a}}\text{ig}^{\text{e}}$ . .i. [from the praiseful exclamation] sauctus, sanctus, sanctus dominus deus sabaoth.
36. *Concentuque*. .i. on  $\epsilon\chi\alpha\rho\epsilon\tau\upsilon\lambda$   $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\rho\gamma\text{na}$  [i. e. from the illustrious instruction].  
*Grates*. pro gratias, sed causa rithmi.

Boetius.—The Editor has not succeeded in verifying this reference.

<sup>k</sup> *Presagmine*.—In the Gloss on this word,  $\text{c}^{\text{ic}}$  seems as if intended for *Cicero*, but is possibly a

blunder for  $\text{c}^{\text{ir}}$ , i. e. *cirpne*, or Hieronymus, for so the Irish call St. Jerome; but the Editor has not found the words quoted in any of St. Jerome's writings.



37. *Amore*. .i. pro.

*Arbitrio*. .i. arbitrium est proprium [sic] conatus anime.

*Nature*. .i. [n]i immancianub pochlannab molab dé [(not) in their nature was the praise of God planted], sed in voluntate et postetate [potestate] sua, sicut ostendit ante, ubi dixit, amore et arbitrio, quod dicit augustinus natura quæ nec recipit minus nec plus quam quod ab origine trahit. non invitus ergo laudante dominum sed ex voluntate.

38. *Grasatis*. .i. a diabulo.

*Primis duobus*. .i. adam et eua.

39. *Zabulus*. .i. pocul ḡpeēba [a Greek word], de consiliariis interpretatur, vel infirmus rap ḡennath no comab don pocul ap diabulur doḡnethea ḡabulur tpmā. ȝ. a .d. tpmā thepēab, or *zabulus*, was made from the word *diabulus*, through z from d [i. e. by changing d to z], through contraction [lit. cutting-down].

40. *Quorum*. .i. demoniorum.

41. *Consternarentur*. .i. na pālḡtur [what they concealed] quia invisibiles sunt demones.

*Fragiles*. .i. fragilis dicit eo quod facile frangi potest.

42. *Non valentes*. .i. na pāllyḡtur [i. e. what they revealed].

*Hec intueri*. .i. agmina diabolitica, vel carectera et volitantia.

43. *Fascibus*. Fascibus .i. mnaḡpmuub .i. ma comuub amail ḡpmne .i. eac comouūb dūb maluc pānḡnupta amail ḡpmne [i. e. in the bundles, i. e. in their *comonds* [assemblies?] like bundles, i. e. each *comond* of them in its proper place like a bundle.

44. *Sublatus*. .i. diabulus, .i. a conspectu dei vel ex unitate.

45. *Cujus*. .i. diabuli.

*Constipatur*. .i. blutap no lntap [i. e. is closed, or is filled].

*Satilitum*. .i. nanamur [i. e. of the soldiers].

46. *Globo*. .i. o chuapṛ no o buūm [i. e. by a circle, or by a crowd].

*Perduellum*. .i. mnanbechath, inter seipsos invicem semper, no cāth contra deum et homines. Duellum .i. quasi duobus bellis bellatorum .i. qui bellis bellum interpretatur vel hostis ut cāō dixit. Aliter perduellum. .i. namṛbe, quia fit perduellis inimicus.

47. *Exemplaribus*. .i. o ēnḡnaphūb demoum [i. e. from the examples(?) of demons].

*Imbuti*. .i. pōpṛchi.

48. *Septis*. .i. septus a quo septis est, semper labidum [read lapidum] est. Septus autem lignorum. .i. custodias angelicas et uirtutes christi significat.

49. *Fornicarentur*. .i. perdirentur, pro omni peccato fornicatio ponitur hic, .i. quia non delarent [sic] homines peccata sua si uide[rentur].

On the lower margin of this page (109 b) occurs the following quatrain:—

Pul tpmi, pul tpmi  
nābleḡap doḡochṛ de bī:  
dūmmūa dābechāb cipe,  
cepachṛ ocup ābele.

There are three things, there are three things  
That are unlawful to the poor of the living God:  
Thanklessness for their life, whatsoever it be,  
Dissatisfaction and *ābele* (precipitancy?)

## NOTE C.

*Translation of the Hymn, and of the Scholia prefixed to its several Stanzas.*

IN the following attempt to translate this Hymn, the Editor is not at all sure that he has always succeeded in expressing the author's meaning<sup>j</sup>. The Latinity is extremely rude, and the readings in some places corrupt; nevertheless, the translation, and notes appended to it, may possibly be an assistance to some readers:—

## CAPITULUM A.

The Title<sup>k</sup> is, *De unitate et Trinitate trium personarum*, and the Argument is the *Canon* [i. e. the text of Scripture] upon which the Capitulum is founded, as is read in Daniel [vii. 9] or in Isaias [vi. 1 ?], *Vetustus dierum sedebat super sedem suam*. *Vetustus dierum æternus temporum erat*. *Vetustus dierum Deus dicitur, pro multitudine dierum ante quos Deus erat; vel quia fuit [per] omnia tempora*. It is the canon of a prophet he gives in it, quia ipse propheta erat; and it is from Daniel in particular he takes it, because he was the latest and noblest: but Colum-cille was the latest and noblest of the prophets of Erin.

The High Father, the Ancient of Days, and unbegotten,  
Was without origin of beginning, and foundation<sup>l</sup>;  
Is and shall be to infinite ages of ages;  
With whom is Christ the Only-begotten, and the Holy Ghost  
Coeternal in the glory of the everlasting Godhead: 5  
We preach<sup>m</sup> not three Gods, but we say there is one God,  
Saving our faith in three most glorious Persons.

## CAPITULUM B.

This is the Title<sup>n</sup>, *De formatione novem graduum*, tribus prætermisiss, non per iguorantiam, sed pro angustia capituli prætermisit. But the Argument is, *Fiat lux et facta est*:—

He created the good Angels, Archangels, and the Orders  
Of Principalities<sup>o</sup>, and Thrones, Powers and Virtues

<sup>j</sup> *Meaning*.—Dr. John Smith, Minister of Campbellton, in his *Life of St. Columba* (Edinb. 1798), has given in his Appendix (p. 137) a very loose poetical paraphrase of this Hymn, which, however, throws no light on its philological difficulties, and can scarcely be called a translation.

<sup>k</sup> *The Title*.—Colgan has abridged the Scholium thus: "Titulus est; De Unitate et Trinitate personarum. Argumentum verò ex illo Danielis vel Isaïæ: *Vetustus dierum sedebat super sedem suam*." See note, p. 206, *supra*. The *Leabhar Breacc* has, "De unitate et Trinitate Dietatis [sic] trium perso-

narum in he in titul [this is the Title]. In moppo in argamamc [this, however, is the Argument], ut dicitur in Danielio [sic], *Eecce videbam sedes possita et vetustus dierum sedebat super sedem suam*."

<sup>l</sup> *Foundation*.—*Crepido* may signify 'foundation;' and therefore *absque crepidine*, 'without anything to stand on,' 'self-dependent.' See note, p. 206. But perhaps it may also signify 'breach,' 'interval,' 'fissure.' See Du Cange, in *voc.*, and compare the use of the word *crebrare*, line 62 (p. 215, *supra*, and note).

That the Goodness and Majesty of the Trinity might not be inactive<sup>p</sup> 10  
 In all functions of bountifulness,  
 But might have something whereby to show forth  
 Celestial privileges<sup>q</sup> largely in all possible expression.

## CAPITULUM C.

*De transmigratione<sup>r</sup> novem graduum principis*, this is the Title. But it is from the Apocalypse the Argument is taken, i. e. *Vidi Stellam de celo cecidisse in terram*: et in Esaia, *Quomodo cecidisti Lucifer, qui mane oriebaris*.

From the summit of the kingdom of heaven, of angelic rank,  
 From the brightness of effulgence, from the loveliness of beauty, 15  
 Lucifer, whom God had made, fell by being proud,  
 And the apostate angels, with the same mournful fall  
 Of the author of vain-glory, and of obstinate envy;  
 The rest remaining in their Principalities.

<sup>m</sup> *We preach*.—"Depromimus," we put forward,  
 'we propound,' or 'teach.'

<sup>n</sup> *This is the Title*.—Colgan gives the Scholium thus: "Tit. De formatione novem graduum Angelorum, tribus prætermisissis: non per ignorantiam, sed per angustiam capituli prætermisissis. Argumentum ex illo, *Fiat lux et facta est*." The Scholium in the *Leabhar Breacc* is as follows: "De formatione .ix. graduum, tribus prætermisissis, *ἵπῃ ἐν τίτῳ* [this is the Title]. *ἵπῃ ἰμῳπῳ ἐν ἀρῡμαίνῳ* [this, however, is the Argument], *Quod in Genesi dicitur, Fiat lux et facta est lux*."

<sup>o</sup> *Principalities*.—The reading of C., "Archangelos et ordines," has been adopted in the translation. See p. 207, note. See Col. i. 16: "Sive throni, sive dominationes, sive principatus, sive potestates."  
 —*Vulg.* Our author uses *sedes for throni*, for the sake of his metre. See note, p. 207, *supra*.

<sup>p</sup> *Inactive*.—"Uti non esset bonitas otiosa." These words occur in the Treatise, *De Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus*, which is attributed to Gemadius of Marseilles (Cœllier, *Hist. des Auteurs Eccl.* xv. 475), and which has also been published in the works of St. Augustine (*Ed. Bened.* viii. App. p. 75), and of Isidore of Seville (*Ed. Romæ*, 1803, tom. vii. App. No. 13). The words of this Treatise, which our author evidently borrowed, are as follows:—"In principio creavit Deus caelum et terram, et aquam

ex nihilo. Et quum adhuc tenebræ ipsam aquam occultarent, et aqua terram abseconderet, facti sunt angeli, et omnes caelestes virtutes, *ut non esset otiosa Dei bonitas*, sed haberet, in quibus ante spatia bonitatem suam ostenderet," &c.—c. 10. On the author and antiquity of the book, *De Eccl. Dogmatibus*, see the *Isidoriana*, tom. ii. of the Works of S. Isidore (*supr. cit.*), p. 31, cap. 83, n. 10, sq.

<sup>q</sup> *Privileges*.—The reading *Privilegia* is here adopted, for the reason assigned in the note on line 12, p. 208. It has been found impossible to make the lines of the translation coincide with those of the original, and there seemed no object in attempting to be so rigidly literal.

<sup>r</sup> *De transmigratione*.—Colgan reads: "Tit. De translatione novem graduum principis. Argumentum ex illo Apocalipsis, *Vidi stellam de calo cecidisse*. Et ex Esaia. *Quomodo cecidisti Lucifer, qui mane oriebaris*." The Scholium in the *Leabhar Breacc* is, "De transmigratione .ix. graduum angelorum, vel de peccato Adæ, *ἵπῃ ἐν τίτῳ* [this is the Title]. *ἵπῃ ἰμῳπῳ ἐν ἀρῡμαίνῳ* [this, however, is the Argument], *quod dicitur in Apocalipsi, Vidi Stellam cecidisse in terram*. Et in Essia dicitur, *Quomodo Lucifer cecidisti mane oriebaris*." The passages of Scripture quoted are Apoc. ix. 1, and Is. xiv. 12. See the notes on this Capitulum. p. 208.

## CAPITULUM D.

*De ruina*<sup>s</sup> *Diaboli*, is the Title: i. e. *De mutatione nominis Luciferi in Draconem*. And this is the Argument, ut est in Apocalypsi, *Ecce Draco Rufus habens capita septem, et cornua decem, et cauda ejus traxit secum tertiam partem siderum vel stellarum* [Apoc. xii. 3].

The Dragon, great, most foul, terrible and old, 20  
Who was the slippery serpent, more wise  
Than all the beasts and fiercer<sup>t</sup> animals of the earth,  
Drew with him the third part of the stars,  
Into the pit of infernal places, and of diverse prisons,  
Deserters<sup>u</sup> of the true Light, cast headlong<sup>v</sup> by the parasite. 25

## CAPITULUM E.

*De creatione elementorum mundi et hominis regentis ea postea more*, is the Title<sup>w</sup>. And this is the Argument: *In principio fecit Deus celum et terram*, ut in Genesi dicitur [Gen. i. 1].

The Most High<sup>x</sup> in His foresight had made the structure and harmony of the world,  
The Heavens and the Earth, founded the sea and waters,  
The buds also of grasses, the twigs of shrubs,  
The sun, moon, and stars, the fire and necessary things,  
Birds, fishes, and cattle, beasts, and animals. 30  
Lastly, the first-created<sup>y</sup> man, to rule with pre-eminence.

<sup>s</sup> *De ruina*.—Colgan gives the Scholium thus: “Tit. *De ruina Diaboli*. Argumen. vt est in Apocalypsi, *Ecce Draco magnus, rufus, habens capita septem et cornua decem: et cauda ejus traxit tertiam partem syderum seu stellarum*.” The Scholium in B. is, “*De ruina diaboli vel de motatione [sic] nominis Luciferi in Draconem, Ece [sic] Draco rufus habens .vii. capita et .x. cornua, et cauda ejus traxit tertiam partem*.”

<sup>t</sup> *Fiercer*.—B. and C. read *ferocioribus*, which is followed in the translation.

<sup>u</sup> *Deserters*.—The reading of B. is here adopted, *refugas*, the acc. pl. of *refuga*, in apposition with *tertiā partem* (line 23):—“He drew with him the third part, &c., who were deserters, &c.”

<sup>v</sup> *Cast headlong*.—The Editor is by no means sure that he has translated this passage rightly: he has left the word *parasite* untranslated, because he knows not how to render it consistently with the Gloss (see p. 209, *supra*, note on l. 25). He is very much dis-

posed to adopt the conjectural reading *paradiso*, and to translate, “cast down from paradise.” Or perhaps the meaning may be, “cast down from being (in a good sense) a parasite,” i. e. a servant entitled to sit at his master’s table.

<sup>w</sup> *The Title*.—C. omits *mundi*. For “*postea more*,” C. reads “*postea more regis*,” and B., “*ea more regis*,” omitting “*postea*.” The insertion of *regis* is necessary to the sense. In C. and B. the words, “*ut in Genesi dicitur*,” are before, not after, the quotation.

<sup>x</sup> *Most High*.—The Latin is *Excelsus*, but the Gloss in the *Leabhar Breacc* is, “.i. Deus .i. quasi valde excelsus.” The construction evidently is, “*Excelsus [Deus] prœvidens fecerat*”—the Most High in His Providence, &c.

<sup>y</sup> *First created*.—So *protoplastum* is evidently to be understood. The animals were brought to Adam to be named, as a symbol of his pre-eminence and superiority. See the note on *Prasagmine*, p. 210, *supra*.



## CAPITULUM F.

This is the Title<sup>a</sup>, *De Laude Dei ab angelis in quarta feria dicentes*<sup>b</sup>, *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus, Deus Sabaoth*. This is the Argument, *Quando feci celum et terram, collaudaverunt me angeli, ut in Sapientia Salomonis dicitur*.

The stars, the luminaries of the ether, being made together  
With wondrous structure<sup>c</sup>; the angels joined in praising  
The Lord of the immense mass, the Architect of the heavenly bodies.  
With glorious, meet, and unceasing<sup>d</sup> praise,  
And with noble consent gave thanks to the Lord,  
In love and free will, not from endowment of nature<sup>e</sup>.

35

## CAPITULUM G.

*De peccato Adæ, et de secunda ruina Diabuli in seductione Adæ*, is the Title<sup>f</sup>. This is the Argument, *Maledictus eris serpens, terram comederis omnibus diebus vitæ*, ut in Genesi dicitur [Gen. iii. 14].

Our first two parents having been assailed and seduced,  
The Devil falls a second time<sup>g</sup>, with his satellites,  
(That, by the horror of whose countenances, and their noise as they fly,  
Frail men terrified by fear might be affrighted,  
Unable with bodily sight to look on these things),  
Who<sup>h</sup> are now bound with the ties<sup>i</sup> and bonds of their prison-houses.

40

<sup>a</sup> Title.—See the note, pp. 210, 211.

<sup>b</sup> *Dicentes*.—It is so also in B.; Colgan has corrected it into *dicentibus*.

<sup>c</sup> *Sapientia Salomonis*.—See the note, p. 211, *supra*. Both B. and C. put the clause "ut in Sapientia Solomonis dicitur" before, not after, the quotation, "*Quando feci celum*," &c. It is remarkable that S. Gregory Nazianzen (*Orat. xix. tom. i. p. 373, Ed. Bened.*) quotes a passage from Job as the words of Solomon (*τὸ Σολομῶντος*), which the Benedictine editors suppose to be a mistake: "Lapsus memoriâ hic videtur Gregorius" (they say) "*dum Salomoni tribuit verba quæ in libro Job occurrunt*;" but others see in this a confirmation of the opinion that Solomon was the author or translator of the Book of Job.—Hardouin, *Chronol. Vet. Test. (Opp. Select., fol. Amstel. 1709, p. 533)*. The editor is not aware of any other instance of the Book of Job being cited under the name of *Sapientia Salomonis*.

<sup>c</sup> *Wondrous structure*.—"Factis factura præmirabili," seems to be the connexion.

<sup>d</sup> *Unceasing*.—This seems to be the meaning of *immobile*: immovable praise is unceasing, everlasting praise.

<sup>e</sup> *Necessity of nature*.—"Donario," gift or endowment of nature. Their praise was the result of love and free will, not arising from any natural organization or necessity. See the Gloss, p. 210.

<sup>f</sup> *The Title*.—C. has only, "Tit. De peccato Adæ, Argum., ut in Genesi dicitur, *Maledicta serpens comedes, terram omnibus diebus vitæ tuæ*." B. gives the Scholium thus: "Ipe in titul [this is the Title], De peccato Adæ. Ip̃ h̃i m̃b̃ ar̃g̃am̃ant̃ [this is the Argument], quod in Genesi dicitur *Maledictus esse [sic] serpens*."—See Gen. iii. 14.

<sup>g</sup> *A second time*.—See note, p. 211.

<sup>h</sup> *Who*.—i. e. the Devil and his satellites.

<sup>i</sup> *Ties*.—"Fascis" seems here used in the sense of *fascia*, a tie or ligature.

## CAPITULUM II.

*De ejectione Diabuli ex unitate angelorum*, is the Title<sup>j</sup>. But this is the Argument, what is said in Genesis, *Maledicte serpens*. And in the Gospel is said, *Vade retro Satanas* [Mat. iii. 10], et *non temptabis Dominum Deum tuum et illi soli serries* [Mat. iii. 7].

He, taken from the midst<sup>k</sup>, is cast down by the Lord,  
And the space<sup>l</sup> of the air is thickly filled 45  
With the turbid crowd of his rebellious satellites  
Invisible,—lest men infected by their evil examples and crimes,  
No screens or walls ever hiding them,  
Should openly commit fornication<sup>m</sup> before the eyes of all.

## CAPITULUM I.

*De eo quod vehunt nubes aquas ad celum*, this is the Title<sup>n</sup>. And this is the Argument, as David says, *Educens nubes ab extremo terræ*; and elsewhere he says, *Qui producit ventos de thesauris suis*.

The clouds carry the wintry floods from the springs, 50  
From the three<sup>o</sup> deeper regions of the ocean sea,  
To the climates of heaven, in azure whirlwinds;  
[Floods<sup>p</sup>] which are to become profitable to the crops, vineyards, and buds,  
[The clouds] being driven by the winds issuing from their treasure-houses,  
And which<sup>q</sup> empty in turns the pools of the sea. 55

<sup>j</sup> Title.—C. gives “the Argument” thus: “Argumentum. vt in Genesi dicitur; *Maledicta* [sic] *serpens comedes terram omnibus diebus*, &c. Et vt in Evangelio; *Vade retrò sathana*, &c.”

<sup>k</sup> The midst.—i.e. from the midst of the angels, or of heaven. The Gloss in B. explains it, “i. a conspectu Dei, vel unitate.”

<sup>l</sup> And the space.—“Cujus” is paraphrased, and his, as best expressing the meaning. See the note, p. 212.

<sup>m</sup> Fornication.—The Gloss explains that *fornicarentur* here signifies “perdirentur”—lest men should destroy themselves after the example of the devils; or that fornication is put for all sin—“pro omni peccato fornicatio ponitur.”

<sup>n</sup> Title.—C. reads, “De eis qui vehunt aquas ad celum;” and for “et alibi dicit” C. has “et vt idem alibi dicit.” The words quoted, however, occur in the same passage, Ps. cxxxiv. 7, *Vulg.*

<sup>o</sup> The three.—It does not appear why our author speaks of “three” *podrantes* of the sea; even

though that word be used in the general sense of a region or division of the ocean, which the Editor has assumed to be its meaning here, in order to escape the difficulty of a literal translation. See the note, p. 213. He has also taken “occiani” as in apposition with “maris;” or perhaps we might translate, “the sea of ocean.”

<sup>p</sup> [Floods.]—The word “profuturas” must agree with “pontias,” and “agitatae” with “nubes.” To express this in English it was necessary to repeat the words *floods* and *clouds* here given within brackets.

<sup>q</sup> And which.—The Gloss tells us that “quique” refers to “venti.” If so, the antecedent “flaminibus” would have required “quæque;” and as this would be as consistent with the metre as “quique,” it is strange that our author should have adopted the latter, if he had meant *flaminibus* to be the antecedent. It seems to the Editor more probable that the reference is to the word “fontibus” (line 50), as “nubes” and “pontias” in the same line were just

## CAPITULUM K.

*De intolerabili pœna peccatorum*, is the Title. This is the Argument, quod Job dicit, *Ecce Gigantes gemunt sub aquis* [Job, xxvi. 5].

The tottering and tyrannical and temporary present glory  
Of the world and of kings, set aside<sup>r</sup> by the will of God,  
Lo! the giants are justly doomed<sup>s</sup> to groan under waters  
With great torment; to be burnt up with fire and punishment,  
And smothered with the swelling Charybdis's<sup>a</sup> of Cocytus, 60  
Overwhelmed with Scylla's, are dashed to pieces with waves and rocks<sup>v</sup>.

## CAPITULUM L.

The Title<sup>r</sup> is, *De moderatione pluvie venientis ex ligatis aquis nubibus ne pariter fluant*. And this is the Argument, quod Job dicit, *Qui suspendit aquas in nubibus ne pariter fluant deorsum* [Job, xxvi. 8].

The Lord drops down continually the waters bound up in the clouds,  
Lest they should break forth all at once, bursting their barriers,  
From whose<sup>x</sup> very fertilizing streams, gradually flowing,  
As from udders, through the regions of this earth, 65  
Cold and warm<sup>y</sup> at different seasons,  
The never-failing rivers are constantly flowing in.

before disposed of. Thus the first three lines of this stanza are a statement of the author's notion of the natural phenomenon of rain. The clouds carry up to heaven, from the fountains of the great deep, the waters—whose uses he then proceeds in the next three lines to explain: they are carried up, in order that they may become profitable to the crops and vegetation of the earth; the clouds are driven and carried about by the winds; and the springs or fountains of the ocean, being thus alternately exhausted and replenished, produce the reciprocal flux and reflux of the tides. If this interpretation be correct, we have here a curious ancient philosophical theory of the cause of the tides.

<sup>r</sup> Title.—Colgan gives the Scholium thus: "TIT. De intolerabili pœna peccatorum infinita. Argumentum vt in Libro Job dicitur, *Ecce Gigantes gemunt sub aquis*."

*Set aside*.—i. e. their glory being set aside, "Gloria nutu Dei deposita."

<sup>s</sup> Justly doomed.—"Comprobantur," lit. are approved: that is, it is evident to all that their

doom is just. The meaning seems to be, that the antediluvian giants, who were supposed to be kings, having had their temporal worldly glory put an end to by the just judgment of God, were cast into hell.

<sup>a</sup> Charybdis's.—It is necessary to retain the words, Charybdis, Cocytus, and Scylla, because they seem to have been intentionally used by our author as mythologically connected with the punishment of the giants in hell.

<sup>v</sup> Rocks.—"Scropibus," apparently for *scrupis*. rough or sharp stones.

<sup>w</sup> The Title.—Colgan gives the Scholium thus: "De moderatione pluvie vehementis. Argumentum, vt in libro Job dicitur, *Qui suspendit aquas in nubibus, ne pariter fluant*."

<sup>x</sup> From whose.—i. e. of the waters, for *quarum* can only refer to *aquas*. The waters bound up in the clouds are, as it were, the breasts, or udders, from which the rivers of the earth are supplied.

<sup>y</sup> Cold and warm.—i. e. from whose fertilizing streams, which are cold and warm at different seasons.

## CAPITULUM M.

*De fundamento terræ et de abisso*, this is the Title<sup>r</sup>. And this is the Argument, quod Job dicit, *Qui suspendit terram* [super nihilum]. Et alibi dicit, *Moles mundi virtute Dei continetur*. Et in Psalmo, *Qui fundasti terram super stabilitatem suam*.

By the Divine powers of the great God are sustained  
The globe of Earth, and the established<sup>a</sup> circle of the great abyss.  
The strong hand<sup>b</sup> of the omnipotent God  
Supporting on columns, as on beams sustaining the same<sup>c</sup> ;  
The promontories and rocks, on solid foundations<sup>d</sup>,  
Immovable as on certain strengthened bases.

70

## CAPITULUM N.

*De inferno in imis posito in corde terræ et penis ejus et loco*, this is the Title<sup>e</sup>. And this is the Argument, *Eruisti animam meam ex inferno* [inferiori]. Ut in Evang[el]io dicitur. *Sepultus est dives in inferno*. Et alibi *Ite Maledicti in eternum ignem*. Et alibi *Vermis eorum non moritur, et ignis eius non extinguitur*].

To no man seemeth it doubtful that Hell is in the lowest places,  
Where are darkness, worms, and dreadful beasts,  
Where is sulphureous fire blazing with consuming flames,  
Where are the groans of men, weeping, and gnashing of teeth.  
Where is the terrible and ancient<sup>f</sup> wail of Gehenna.  
Where is the fiery horrid burning of thirst and hunger.

75

## CAPITULUM O.

The Title<sup>g</sup> is, *Of the inhabitants of Hell, who from very shame bow down in the name of the Lord*. The

<sup>r</sup> *The Title*.—The Scholium, as given by Colgan, is as follows: "Trr. De fundamento terræ, et de abyssu. Argumen. vt in Libro Iob: *Qui suspendit terram supra nihilum*. Et vt in eodem alibi, *Moles mundi virtute Dei continetur*. Et vt in Psalmo, *Fundasti terram super stabilitatem suam*." The passages quoted are Job, xxvi. 7, and Ps. ciii. 5. The second passage is quoted as from the Book of Job. The reader will observe the Irish orthography "abiso" for *abyssu*, and "molis" for *moles*.

<sup>a</sup> *Established*.—"Inditus," appointed, fixed, settled.

<sup>b</sup> *Strong hand*.—See notes, p. 216, above. *Suffulta* seems to be used here in an active sense—"supporting."

<sup>c</sup> *The same*.—Scil. the globe of earth.

<sup>d</sup> *On solid foundations*.—i. e. resting on solid foundations; an ablative absolute.

<sup>e</sup> *Title*.—The words and parts of words supplied in brackets are obscure in the MS. Colgan gives the Scholium thus: "Trr. De inferno in imis posito in corde terræ, et penis ejus, ac loco. Argumentum vt in Psalmo: *Et eruisti animam meam ex inferno inferiori*. Et in Evangelio: *Sepultus est in Inferno*. Et alibi: *Ite Maledicti in ignem eternum*." The passages of Scripture referred to are, Ps. lxxxv. 13; Luc. xvi. 22; Matt. xxv. 41; Marc. ix. 48.

<sup>f</sup> *Ancient*.—Or perhaps *antiquus* may be used in the sense of perpetual, usual, constant.

<sup>g</sup> *Title*.—This and the seven following stanzas are supplied from Colgan, a leaf being lost in the Dublin MS. See above, p. 217, and Note D.



Argument, as in the Apocalypse [read in the Apostle (Phil. ii. 9)], *Donavit illi nomen, quod est super omne nomen*, &c. And as in the same [Apoc. v. 1], *Vidi librum in dextra sedentis super thronum*, &c.

Below the earth<sup>h</sup>, as we read, we know there are dwellers 80  
Whose knee in prayer<sup>l</sup> oft bendeth to the Lord,  
To whom it is impossible to unroll the book written,  
And sealed<sup>l</sup> with [seven] seals, . . . .  
Which He<sup>h</sup> had opened, and so became victorious,  
Fulfilling the prophesied pre-eminence<sup>l</sup> of His advent. 85

## CAPITULUM P.

The Title is, *De Paradiso Adæ, id est, loco deliciarum*. The Argument, as is said in Genesis, *Plantaverat Paradisum volupta[tis] a principio* [Gen. ii. 8]. And in the Apocalypse [ii. 7], *Dabo ei manducare de ligno quinto* [leg. vitæ], *quod est in Paradiso Dei mei*. And again [xxii. 2], *Ex utraque parte fluminis lignum vitæ, afferens duodecim fructus per singulos menses, et folia ligni in curationem gentium*.

That Paradise was planted by the Lord from the beginning,  
We read in the most noble beginning of Genesis,  
From whose fountain four rivers are flowing,  
And in whose flowery midst is placed<sup>n</sup> the tree of life,  
Whose leaves bringing health to the Gentiles do not fall, 90  
Whose joys<sup>n</sup> are unspeakable and abundant.

## CAPITULUM Q.

The Title<sup>o</sup> is, *De ascensione Moysis ad Dominum in monte Sinai*; as is said in the Law, *Moyses ascendit, et descendit gloria ejus super montem Sinai* [Exod. xxiv. 15, 16]. Or the more correct Title is, *De*

<sup>h</sup> *Below the earth*.—This seems founded on Apoc. v. 3: "No man in heaven, or in earth, or under the earth, could open the book;" and cf. v. 13; also Phil. ii. 10. In the title they are spoken of as the "incolæ inferni qui vel rubore flectunt in nomine Domini."

<sup>l</sup> *In prayer*.—This word seems here to be an adverb; "precario flectit," bends prayerwise, or in prayer.

<sup>l</sup> *Sealed*.—Colgan gives this line imperfectly thus:—

"Ob signatum signaculis . . . monitis;"

the intermediate words having doubtless been illegible in the MS. Perhaps the hiatus may be thus supplied:

"Obsignatum signaculis septem licet præmonitis."

"Although having been forewarned and called upon to do so."—Apoc. v. 2.

<sup>h</sup> *Which He*.—"Idem" seems to refer to *Do-*

*mino*, ver. 81. But the construction is obscure, and the text probably corrupt—"Which [book] He the same Lord had opened, by which [book] He had become Conqueror"—*Victor*, alluding to Apoc. v. 5: "Ecce vicit Leo de tribu Juda," &c.

<sup>l</sup> *Pre-eminence*.—"Præagmina." See p. 209, *supra*, and note, p. 210; also Add. Note B, p. 23. But it is probable that "præagmen" is here used in the sense of prophecy: "fulfilling the prophetic predictions of His coming."

<sup>n</sup> *Is placed*.—"Cujus et tua" in Colgan's text, which makes no sense, is corrected in his errata to "ejus et situm," and the line has been translated accordingly.

<sup>n</sup> *Whose joys*.—For "ejus inenarrabiles" in the original of this line, as given by Colgan, perhaps we should read "ejus sunt innarrabiles."

<sup>o</sup> *Title*.—The second version of the Title and Argument here given is a proof of the antiquity of the

*mirabilibus gloriæ adventus Domini in montem.* But the Argument is, *Facta sunt tonitrua, et roces, et fulgura, et terræ motus* [Apoc. xvi. 18].

Who hath ascended to Sinai, the appointed<sup>p</sup> mountain of the Lord?  
 Who hath heard the thunders beyond measure resounding?  
 Who the clang of the enormous trumpet<sup>q</sup> roaring?  
 Who hath seen also the lightnings flashing around?  
 Who the lamps<sup>r</sup> and darts and falling rocks?  
 Who but Moses the judge of the people of Israel?

95

## CAPITULUM R.

The Title is, *De Die judicii, et nominibus ejus.* The Argument, what Zephaniah says, *Juxta est dies Domini magnus et velox nimis*, &c. [Zeph. i. 14-16].

The day of the Lord, of the King of Kings most righteous, is at hand:  
 A day of wrath and vengeance, of darkness and cloud;  
 And a day of wonderful strong thunders;  
 A day of trouble also, of grief and sadness;  
 In which shall cease the love and desire of women,  
 And the strife of men, and the lust of this world.

100

## CAPITULUM S.

The Title is, *De tremebunda præsentia Dei, in die judicii.* The Argument, as in the second Epistle to the Corinthians [v. 10], *Oportet nos omnes stare ante Tribunal Christi*, &c. And as is said in the Gospel, *Filius hominis venturus est in gloria sua, tunc reddet unicuique secundum opera sua* [Matt. xvi. 27].

We shall be standing trembling before the judgment-seat of the Lord;  
 And we shall give an account of all our deeds;  
 Beholding also our crimes laid open before our sight,  
 And the books of conscience opened before us,  
 We shall break forth into most bitter weeping and sobs,  
 The necessary matter<sup>s</sup> of working being withdrawn.

105

## CAPITULUM T.

The Title is, *De resurrectione prolis Adæ.* The Argument, as in the Apocalypse [read in the Apostle (1 Thes. iv. 16)], *Ipse Dominus ut in jussu, et in voce Archangeli in tuba descendet de cælo.* And again [Apoc. x. 7], *In diebus vocis septimi angeli, cum cæperit tuba canere, consummabitur mysterium Dei.*

Hymn, showing that several ancient copies of it were in circulation before the MS. from which Colgan edited it was written.

<sup>p</sup> *Appointed*.—"Condictum." So Gen. xvii. 14, "Juxta condictum revertar ad te."

<sup>q</sup> *Trumpet*.—Lit. "the clang of the trumpet," or "the clang of the enormity of the trumpet." *Perstrepere*, not *perstrepera*, is probably the true read-

ing. See p. 245, *infra*.

<sup>r</sup> *The lamps*.—Alluding to Exod. xx. 18.

<sup>s</sup> *The necessary matter*.—The meaning is obscure; the author probably intended to say that there shall then no longer be any power of doing good or evil: and so no place for repentance; there being no longer any "materia operandi"—no means of making amends.

The trumpet of the first Archangel sounding wondrous things, 110  
 The strongest cloisters, and cemeteries<sup>1</sup>, shall burst,  
 The melting cold<sup>2</sup> of the men of this present world,  
 The bones gathering together from all sides to their joints,  
 The ethereal souls meeting the same,  
 And returning again to their due mansions. 115

## CAPITULUM U.

The Title is, *De tribus sideribus, thronos septem significantibus*. The Argument, as in the Book of Job, *Qui fecit Oriona, et interiora Austri* [Job, ix. 9]. *Numquid Luciferum et Vesperum in tempora certa constituisti* [Job, xxxviii. 22].

[This Capitulum is so corrupt in Colgan's Edition of the Hymn, that the Editor does not venture to attempt a translation. See Note D.]

## CAPITULUM X.

The Title is, *De die judicii et præfulgente ligno crucis*. The Argument, as in the Apocalypse [vi. 15, 16], *Abscendent se in speluncis et petris montium; et tunc dicent montibus, super nos cadite*. And in the Gospel [Matt. xxiv. 29], *Statim post turbationem dierum illorum sol obscurabitur, et luna non dabit lumen suum, et stellæ cadent de cælo*.

Christ the Most High Lord coming down from Heaven,  
 The most glorious sign and banner of the Cross shall shine,  
 And the two principal luminaries being struck,  
 The stars shall fall to the earth, as fruit from the fig-tree, 125  
 And the compass of the world shall be as the burning of a furnace,  
 Then shall the hosts hide themselves in the caves of the mountains.

## CAPITULUM Y.

*De Laude Dei [Domini. C.] ab angelis*, is the Title. But this is the Argument, what is said in the Apocalypse [iv. 4], *In circuitu throni vidi sedes, xxiv. seniores, sedentes in veste alba et capitibus eorum corona aurea vidi*.

By the chaunting of hymns continually resonning  
 Thousands of Angels singing in holy dances<sup>3</sup>; 130

<sup>1</sup> *Cemeteries*.—See Du Cange, in v., *Polyandrum*, *Polyandrium*.

<sup>2</sup> *The cold*.—This line is very obscure, and the readings probably corrupt. Is the word *frigora* the subject or object of *erumpent*? And is *liquescentia* a participle?—if so, what is the construction? "*Liquescentia*" occurs in Du Cange as a substantive, in the sense of "apparentia, vel defectus, vel liquiditas." But this gives no very good sense.

Perhaps we should read "hominem;" and translate, "The cold of this present world, melting [i. e. dissolving or destroying] man, shall burst the cloisters and cemeteries." The translation given above is an attempt to render literally the existing text; it assumes *frigora* to be the object of *erumpent*.

<sup>3</sup> *Dances*.—"Tropodiis," perhaps for *tripudiis*, as in C.,—a word which is used in the Vulg., Esth. viii. 16, to denote "dances" as a manifestation of joy.

And the four Animals full of eyes,  
 With the four-and-twenty blessed elders,  
 Casting their crowns under the feet of the Lamb of God,  
 The Trinity is praised, with three eternal repetitions<sup>w</sup>.

## CAPITULUM Z.

*De uestione impiorum nolentes* [sic] *Christum credere, et de gaudio justorum*, is the Title. But this is the Argument, what is said in the Apocalypse [read "in the Apostle"], *Terribilis ignis consumet adversarios* [Hebr. x. 27]. And elsewhere the Apostle<sup>x</sup> says *Mansiones multæ sunt apud Patrem*; and Christ says, *In domu Patris mei multæ mansiones sunt* [John, xiv. 3].

The furious indignation of fire shall devour the adversaries, 135  
 Who refuse to believe that Christ is come from God the Father,  
 But we shall fly<sup>y</sup> forthwith to meet Him,  
 And so shall we be with Him in various orders of dignities  
 According to the perpetual merits of our rewards,  
 To remain in glory, for ever and ever<sup>z</sup>. 140

At the end of the Hymn are two *Antiphons*, in the same metre as the Hymn itself, and probably coeval with it, or nearly so. The former of these, as the Preface tells us, is to be sung, in reciting the Hymn, after each Stanza or Capitulum; but no mention is made of the second. The former is therefore certainly older than this Preface; the latter probably more modern, although it is also evidently very ancient.

The former may be translated thus:—

Who can please God, in this last time?  
 When the noted marks of truth are changed,  
 Except the despisers of this present world.

The second Antiphon is an express invocation of the Trinity, and was probably intended to be used instead of the former, in order to meet the objection which had been made<sup>a</sup>, that the author, in this Hymn, had not dwelt sufficiently on the praises of the Trinity. See the next Hymn.

"gaudium, honor, et tripudium." *Vernantibus* is rendered "singing." See Du Cange, *in voc.*, who cites, in proof of this signification, a passage from the Life of St. Peter, afterwards Pope Celestine V. (Acta SS. tom. iv. Maii, p. 423); where the word is applied to the singing of angels, a great company of whom was seen by the Saint in vision: "et in ore cujusque illorum erant rose rubæ, et cum illis rose vernabant dilectabiliter nimis; ita quod postquam excitatus fuisset a somno, cantum illum

audierit per tantum spatium, quo posset dici *Pater noster*."

<sup>w</sup> *Repetitions*.—"Vices," *changes*, alluding to the "Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus."—Apoc. iv. 8.

<sup>x</sup> *The Apostle*.—See above, note, p. 218.

<sup>y</sup> *We shall fly*.—This seems founded on 1 Thess. iv. 13-17.

<sup>z</sup> *For ever and ever*.—The reading of C. is here adopted. See p. 219, note.

<sup>a</sup> *Made*.—This objection is stated in the Preface



This second Antiphon may be thus translated:—

God the Father, unbegotten, Lord of heaven and earth,  
And the Son, begotten of Him, before all worlds,  
And the Holy Ghost, one, true, most High God,  
I invoke; that He may give most ready help,  
To me the least of all His servants,  
Whom the Lord hath made one with the myriads of Angels<sup>b</sup>.

### NOTE D.

*The Stanzas missing in the Dublin Copy of the Liber Hymnorum.*

THE following are the Stanzas wanting in the Dublin MS. in consequence of the loss of one leaf, as already mentioned, p. 217, note on line 79. As the Editor has no access to any other copy of this Hymn except that printed by Colgan in the *Trius Thaumaturga*, and as that work is now very scarce, he has thought fit to preserve the missing stanzas here, although Colgan's text is full of inaccuracies and errors of the press, some of which will be corrected, wherever the correction is obvious and certain; and some other conjectural emendations will be suggested in the notes:—

TIT. De incolis infirmi, qui vel rubore flectunt in nomine Domini. ARGUMENTUM<sup>c</sup>: ut in Apocalipsi; *Donavit illi nomen, quod est super omne nomen, &c.* Et ut in eadem, *Vidi librum in dextra sedentis super thronum, &c.*

Orbem infra, ut legimus<sup>d</sup>, incolas esse novimus, 80  
Quorum genu præcario<sup>e</sup> frequenter flectit Domino,  
Quibusque impossibile librum scriptum revolvere<sup>f</sup>,  
Obsignatum<sup>g</sup> signaculis . . . . . monitis,  
Quem idem resignaverat, per quem victor extiterat,  
Explens sui præsigna adventus prophetalia. 85

TIT. De Paradiso Adæ, id est, loco deliciarum. ARGUM.<sup>h</sup> Ut in Genesi dicitur; *Plantaverat Paradi-*

(see p. 222), "And they said that there was no fault in the Hymn, except the scanty praise of the Trinity which it contained *per se*," &c.

<sup>b</sup> *Angels*.—Perhaps alluding to Mark, xii. 25.

<sup>c</sup> *Argumentum*.—The first passage here quoted as from the Apocalypse, is really from Phil. ii. 9, by a mistake that often occurs of "Apoc." for "Apostle." The second is from Apoc. v. 1.

<sup>d</sup> *Ut legimus*.—Alluding to Phil. ii. 10; Apoc. v. 3, 13.

<sup>e</sup> *Præcario*.—See above, p. 240, note.

<sup>f</sup> *Revolvere*.—The Vulgate has "*aperire librum*." Sabatier does not mention the reading *revolvere*, which seems to be ancient, from its agreement with the original roll form of books.

<sup>g</sup> *Obsignatum*.—See the conjectural emendation of this line already proposed, note, p. 240, *supra*.

<sup>h</sup> *Argumentum*.—Colgan gives the first quotation from the Apocalypse thus: "*Dabo ei manducare de ligno quinto*," which is an obvious error of tran-

*sum voluptatis a principio. Et in Apocalipsi: Dabo ei manducare de ligno quinto [leg. vitæ] quod est in paradiso Dei mei. Et alibi, Ex utraque parte fluminis lignum vitæ afferens duodecim fructus per singulos menses, et folia ligni in curationem gentium.*

**P**lantatum a prohemio Paradisum a Domino  
 Legimus in Primordio Genesis nobilissimo.  
 Cujus ex fonte flumina quatuor sunt manantia,  
 Cujus et<sup>1</sup> situm florido lignum vitæ est medio  
 Cujus non cadunt folia<sup>k</sup> gentibus salutifera  
 Cujus inenarrabiles<sup>l</sup> deliciae ac fertiles.

90

**TIT.** *De ascensione Moysis<sup>m</sup> ad Dominum in monte Sinai.* **ARGUM.** Quod in Lege dicitur, *Moyses ascendit, et descendit<sup>n</sup> gloria ejus super montem Sinai.* Vel verior titulus est, *De mirabilibus gloriae adventus Domini in montem.* **ARGUMENTUM** vero, *Facta sunt tonitrua et voces, et fulgura, et terræ motus.*

**Q**uis ad conductum Domini montem conscendit Sinai,  
 Quis audivit tonitrua supra modum sonantia?  
 Quis clangorem<sup>o</sup> perstreperæ enormitatis buccinæ?  
 Quis quoque vidit fulgura in gyro coruscantia?  
 Quis lampades et jacula, saxaque collidentia?  
 Præter Israelitici Moysen judicem populi?

95

**TIT.** *De die Judicii et nominibus ejus.* **ARGUM.** Quod Sophonias dixit, *Juxta est dies Domini magnus, et veloc nimis; dies illa, dies iræ, et furoris, et angustiae; die calamitatis et miseriæ; dies tenebrarum et caliginis; dies nebulae et turbinis; dies tubæ et clangoris.*

**R**egis regum rectissimi, prope est dies Domini;  
 Dies iræ et vindictæ, tenebrarum et nebulae;  
 Diesque mirabilium tonitruorum fortium;  
 Dies quoque angustiae, mœroris ac tristitiæ;  
 In quo cessabit mulierum amor et desiderium,  
 Hominumque contentio, mundi hujus et cupidior<sup>p</sup>.

100

scription for "de ligno vitæ," *vitæ* having been probably mistaken for *cto*. *Manducare* is an ancient reading, for which the modern Vulgate has *edere*, Apoc. ii. 7. The "Commentary on the Apocalypse," printed with the works of St. Augustine, reads *manducare*. In the other passage of the Apocalypse referred to (xxii. 2), the modern Vulgate reads *sanitatem* for *curationem*, which last is the reading of the ante-Hieronymian version, and is so quoted by St. Hilary and St. Ambrose. See Sabatier, *in loco*.

<sup>1</sup> *Cujus et*.—Colgan has printed this line thus:

"Cujus et tua florido lignum vitæ est medio,"

but he corrects it as above in his *Errata*.

<sup>k</sup> *Folia*.—Colgan has *falia*, an obvious error of

the press, which he has corrected as above in his *Errata*.

<sup>l</sup> *Inenarrabiles*.—See note, p. 240.

<sup>m</sup> *Moysis*.—Colgan prints *Maysis*, which is evidently an error of the press.

<sup>n</sup> *Descendit*.—Colgan puts a full stop after this word, which of course is also an error of the press.

<sup>o</sup> *Quis clangorem*.—Colgan prints this line thus: "Quis clangorem derstremere ormitatis buccinæ," but he corrects it in his *Errata* as above: where *perstreperæ* seems to be an adjective agreeing with *buccinæ*, unless we should read *perstrepere*. See above, p. 241, note.

<sup>p</sup> *Cupido*.—The penultimate syllable is here short.

TIT. *De tremebunda presentia Dei in die judicii.* ARGUM. ut in secunda Epistola ad Corinthios, *Oportet nos omnes stare ante Tribunal Christi, ut referat unusquisque propria sui corporis prout gessit, sive bonum, sive malum.* Et ut in Evangelio dicitur, *Filius hominis venturus est in gloria sua, tunc reddet unicuique secundum opera sua.*

Santes erimus<sup>1</sup> pavidus ante tribunal Domini;  
 Reddemusque de omnibus rationem effectibus;<sup>2</sup> 105  
 Videntes quoque posita ante obtutus crimina,  
 Librosque conscientiae patefactos in facie,  
 In fletus amarissimos ac singultus erumpemus,<sup>3</sup>  
 Subtracta necessaria operandi materia.

TIT. *De resurrectione prolis Adæ.* ARGUM. Ut in Apocalypsi, *Ipsæ Dominus ut in jussu et voce Archangeli in tuba descendet de celo.* Et iterum; *in diebus vocis septimi Angeli, cum aperit tuba canere, consummabitur mysterium Dei.*

Tuba<sup>4</sup> primi Archangeli strepente admirabilia, 110  
 Erumpent munitissima claustra ac poliaudria,  
 Mundi presentis frigora hominum liquescentia,  
 Undique conglobantibus ad compagines ossibus,  
 Animabus ætherialibus eisdem obventibus,  
 Rursumque redeuntibus debitis in mansionibus.

TIT. *De tribus syderibus<sup>5</sup> thronos septem<sup>6</sup> significantibus.* ARGUM. Ut in libro Job, *Qui fecit Oriona et interiora Austri. Nunquid luciferum et vesperum in tempora certa constituisti.*

Vagatur ex climatico<sup>7</sup> Orion cœli cardine,  
 Derelicto Virgilio<sup>8</sup> astrorum splendissimo,

<sup>1</sup> *Erinus.*—The penultimate is here apparently long.

<sup>2</sup> *Effectibus.*—Acts or deeds, as contradistinguished from thoughts or intentions.

<sup>3</sup> *Erumpemus.*—The penultimate is here made short.

<sup>4</sup> *Tuba.*—Alluding to 1 Thess. iv. 16, a passage which is quoted in the Scholium as if it was in the Apocalypse, by an error that repeatedly occurs. But Apoc. viii. 7, seems also to be referred to.

<sup>5</sup> *De tribus syderibus.*—Sidus is properly a constellation consisting of several stars, "Sidera vero sunt stellis plurimis facta, ut Hyades, Pleiades" (Isidor. Hispal. *Etymol.* lib. iii. 60).

<sup>6</sup> *Thronos septem.*—This is probably an allusion to St. Gregor. *Moral.* lib. ix. (in Job, ix. 9), "Quid namque Arcturi nomine, qui in cœli axe constitutus, septem stellarum radiis fulget, nisi Ecclesia univer-

salis exprimitur, quæ in Johannis Apocalypsi per septem Ecclesias, septemque candelabras figuratur?" Compare also the *Glossa Ordinaria*, in loc., which is founded on this passage of St. Gregory.

<sup>7</sup> *Climatico.*—*Clima* is *inclinatio* (see Du Cange *in voc.*); and this line may possibly be rendered "Orion wanders from the inclined pole of heaven," meaning the North Pole, which appears in these latitudes above the horizon—"Cardines extremæ axis partes sunt."—Isid. Hispal. *De Natura rerum*, C. xii. n. 3 (Opp. *Rome*, 1803, tom. vii. p. 21).

<sup>8</sup> *Virgilio.*—Usually written *Vergiliæ*, sometimes *Virgiliæ*, the constellation called the *Pleiades*; so called according to some (e.g. Voss. *in Etymol.*), "a virgula, quod virgulæ more porrigitur." But others derive the name from *ver*, as Festus, who says "Vergiliæ dicte, quia earum ortu ver finitur, et æstas incipit." And so also Isid. Hispal. *De*

Per methas Tithis<sup>v</sup> ignoti Orientalis circuli  
 Girans certis ambagibus redit priscis reditibus,  
 Oriens post biennium, vesp<sup>erugo</sup> in vesp<sup>erum</sup>,  
 Sumpta in proplasmatis<sup>a</sup> tropicis intellectibus.

120

TIT. *De die iudicii et præfulgente ligno crucis.* ARG. ut in Apocalipsi, *Abscoude se in speluncis et petris montium; et tunc dicent montibus, super nos cadite.* Et in Evangelio; *Statim post turbationem dierum illorum, sol obscurabitur, et luna non dabit lumen suum, et stellæ cadent de cælo.*

X to de cælis Domino descendente altissimo,  
 Præfulgebit clarissimum signum crucis et vexillum  
 Tactisque luminaribus duobus principalibus  
 Cadent in terram sydera, ut fructus de ficulnea,  
 Eritque mundi spatium, ut fornacis incendium,  
 Tunc in montium specubus abscondent se exercitus.

125

## NOTE E.

*The Religious use of the "Altus"—Legend of Maelsuthain O' Cearbhail.*

THE Editor is indebted to his friend Professor Curry for permission to extract the following curious Legend from the interesting and valuable volume of Lectures on Irish History and Literature, which that gentleman is about to publish. There are very few allusions to the "Altus" in Irish history, and of these the greater part occur in the biographies of its author; the following singular Legend is the only allusion to

*Naturæ rerum*, c. xxvi. n. 6 (tom. vii. p. 39, edit. Areval. Romæ, 1803):—"Has [Pleiades] Latini vergilias appellaverunt, eo quod vere oriantur," &c. (Conf. Ejusd. *Etymol.* lib. iii. cap. lxxi. n. 13). St. Ambrose (*De interpellatione Job*, lib. i. c. iv. n. 11) quotes Job. ix. 9 from an ancient Latin version, thus: "Qui facit vergilias, et hesperum, et septemtrionem, et austri ministerium." The text of this Capitulum is so evidently corrupt, that until access can be had to the copy preserved at Rome, which is the only other MS. of the Hymn known to exist, it would be waste of time to attempt a translation.

<sup>v</sup> *Tithis*.—Perhaps we should read *Hyadis*, or *Hiadis*; *Hia* being pronounced as a monosyllable; unless "metas Tithis" be a corruption of the Greek

word *metastasis*, or *metathesis*, in the acc. plur.; the "metastases of the unknown eastern circle,"—which may signify the inverted or unseen portions of the eastern circle, viz., that part of it which was below the horizon. See Bede, *de Temporum ratione*, cap. 34, where the ancient theory which our author seems to have had in view is explained (ed. Giles, tom. vi. p. 214, seq.).

<sup>2</sup> *Vesperugo*.—An evening star.

<sup>a</sup> *Proplasmatis*.—The Greek word, *πρόπλασμα*, signifies a clay model for the use of an artist; but this can scarcely be its meaning here. This last line, which seems quite unintelligible, is evidently corrupt; but, without the aid of another MS., correction is impossible.



the religious use of the Hymn which has come to the knowledge of the Editor. From this story it appears that the recitation of the Hymn was practised as a religious exercise, and that it was supposed to be efficacious in obtaining from the Almighty the recovery of the sick.

The Legend was extracted by Mr. Curry from the "*Liber Flavus Fergusorum*," a MS. in vellum, of the fifteenth century, in two volumes, quarto, now in the possession of James Marinus Kennedy, Esq., of 47, Gloucester-street, Dublin, by whom it was inherited from his ancestor, Dr. John Fergus, an eminent Irish scholar and antiquary, who was well known as a physician in Dublin at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

It will be necessary to give the reader some short account of Maelsuthain Ua Cearbhaill, or O'Carroll, to whom the following Legend relates. He was chieftain of the Eoghanacht Locha Léin, that is, of the descendants of Eoghan Mor, son of Oilliol Olum, who inhabited a district including Loch Léin, the present Lake of Killarney, in the barony of Magunihy, county of Kerry. He was a man of eminent learning, and is supposed to have collected the materials from which the Annals of Inisfallen (an island in the lower Lake of Killarney) were compiled<sup>b</sup>. In the story which follows he is called *Anmchapa*, or *Counsellor* of the celebrated Brian Boroinhe, King of Ireland, and, as Mr. Curry thinks, was probably the tutor or teacher of that monarch. The Book of Armagh<sup>c</sup>, a MS. now in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, contains a curious note in the handwriting of Maelsuthain Ua Cearbhaill, written about A. D. 1002, in the presence of King Brian Boroinhe, which the Editor of this work had the honour of exhibiting to her Majesty Queen Victoria, at her visit to the Great Dublin Exhibition of 1853.

At the close of his life Maelsuthain, as the Legend relates, devoted himself to penitential exercises, and appears to have become a monk in the religious establishment of this island of Inisfallen. His death is thus recorded by the Four Masters at the year 1009, the true date being 1010:—

Maolpuhain Ua Cearbhaill do múnach  
 Inni Faithlenn, prinnipal iapéar do main  
 ma amppir, 7 tigeirna Coḡanaḡta Loḡa Léin,  
 décc.

Maelsuthain Ua Cearbhaill, of the family [i. e. religious community] of Inis Faithlenn, chief doctor of the western world in his time, and Lord of the Eoghanacht of Loch Léin, died.

<sup>a</sup> *Compiled*.—See O'Reilly's Irish Writers (Transact. Hiberno-Celtic Society), at the year 1009.

<sup>b</sup> *Book of Armagh*.—This most remarkable MS. was purchased by His Grace the Lord Primate of Ireland, and presented to the Library of Trinity College in the year 1854. His Grace has subsequently

placed in the hands of the Rev. Dr. Reeves a sum of money sufficient to defray the expenses of the publication of the MS., and we may shortly expect to see it in print, with introductory matter and notes, under the able editorial skill of that accomplished scholar.

We may now give the Legend itself, with Mr. Curry's translation:—

Ṭṛiap foglamntiḡ tamucubap o cumniri  
do deanum leiḡinn dinniraiḡ amncapad  
briam mic Ceinneidigh .i. muirpuḡam huat  
Ceapbail, doḡanaḡt loḡa léim, air ba he  
ecnaid ba pḡarp ina amniri he. Ir amlaib  
po babap in ṭṛiap foglamntiḡ, ḡ com-  
cruḡ, ḡ coibdealb, ḡ aenaim pḡppo .i. doñ-  
nall an taimm. Ro babap imḡppo ṭṛi bli-  
aḡna ac foglamn occo. A cinn ṭṛi bliḡan a  
dubpḡdap pḡi noib: iri ail linn, ap riab,  
dul copoici Ierupalem iri ṭṛi luda, ḡu po  
imcibrib ap cḡpa cech conair po imiḡ an  
tSlaimic a calaib. A dubairt in tairb: Ní  
pachair no ḡu paḡbachai luach mo paep  
[paepir] acumra. A dubpḡdap na baltaib:  
Ní pḡil acum, ap riab; m do bepmaur duict,  
aḡt bemuib ṭṛi bliḡna aile aḡ oñuloid du-  
ict, maib ail leact. Ní h-ail, appe, aḡt beḡ  
cobpḡib mo bpeit pḡim dam, no den bar ne-  
arḡanne. Do bepum, oppiab, dia poib acum.  
Ro naip pḡppo po pḡipcel in coimbeaḡ,  
riachair, appe, in conair iri ail lḡb, ḡ bḡ maḡb  
riḡ a naempeaḡt ap an tṛup, ḡ iri bḡeath  
conaim opuibri, can dul ap neaib iap neḡaib  
duib, no co ṭṛibair eucumra ap dḡr dia inn-  
rim dam ce paḡ mo paegail, ḡ co po innirib  
an paḡaim cennra in coimbi. ḡeallmuibne  
duictir an m rim a huḡt an coimbi, apriab; po  
innirib [anb] rim, ḡ pḡepad beannaḡtam leo o  
na noib, ḡ po paḡrat beannaḡtam aḡi dḡa.  
Ro rirpirt cech conair po cualabap in  
tSlaimic do imcibet. Rancabap dḡa po-  
beoib copoici Ierupalem, ḡ puarpḡdap bar  
anempeaḡt ann, ḡ po haḡnaiceaḡ co nonoir  
moir iab in Ierupalem. Tamic Miḡel ap-  
amgeal o Dia apa ceann. I dubpḡdap rum:  
ní paḡum no ḡo planairim in bḡeath tṛḡram  
pḡia ap noib po pḡipcela Cḡpirt. Iairiḡib  
[read imchriḡib], ap mte aingil, ḡ innirib do ṭṛi  
bliḡna co leith aḡi do paegail, ḡ a dul in

There came three students at one time from *Cuin-  
nire*<sup>a</sup> to receive education from the *Amchlara* [soul-  
friend] of Brian MacCeinneidigh<sup>e</sup> that is, Maelsuthain  
Ua Cearbhaill, of the Eoganacht of Loch Lein, because  
he was the best sage of his time. These three stu-  
dents resembled each other in figure, in features, and  
in their name, which was Domnall. They remained  
three years learning with him. At the end of three  
years they said to their preceptor: "It is our de-  
sire," said they, "to go to Jerusalem, in the land of  
Judea, in order that our feet may tread every path  
which the Saviour trod on earth." The tutor an-  
swered: "You shall not go until you have left with  
me the reward of my labour." The pupils said:  
"We have not," said they, "anything that we  
could give thee, but we will remain three years more,  
to serve thee humbly, if thou desire it." "I do  
not wish that," said he, "but you shall grant me my  
own demand, or I will lay my curse upon you." "We  
will grant thee that," said they, "if we can." He  
then bound them by an oath on the Gospel of the  
Lord. "You shall go in the path that you desire,"  
said he, "and you shall die all at the same time to-  
gether, on the pilgrimage. And the demand I  
require from you is, that you go not to heaven after  
your deaths, until you have first visited me, to tell  
me the length of my life, and until you tell me  
whether I shall obtain the peace of the Lord." "We  
promise thee this," said they, "for the sake of the  
Lord;" and then they departed, and they took a  
blessing with them from their tutor, and they left  
him their blessing also. They walked in every path  
in which they had heard the Saviour had walked.  
They came at last to Jerusalem, and there they found  
their joint death, and were buried with great honour  
in Jerusalem. Then Michael the Archangel came  
from God for them. But they said: "We will not go,  
until we fulfil the promise we made to our preceptor,  
on the Gospel of Christ." "Go," said the angel, "and  
tell him that he has still three years and a half to

<sup>a</sup> *Cuinnire*.—The ancient church from which the  
diocese of Connor, in Ulster, is now named.

<sup>e</sup> *Brian Mac Ceinneidigh*.—Brian, son of Cen-  
neidigh, or Kennedy; the celebrated Brian Boromhe.

ipponn co b'pach, iarp'inn be'pup an b'pach  
allo b'pach'a paip.

In'ib' duinn, ap' p'iað, cið ma cu'p'ar in ip-  
ponn é. Ap' ep' p'achuið, ap' in taingil, .i. apa  
með to'p'p'ee' an canoin, a'g'ur a með do  
iinnaiñ p'p'iuð coim'p'iceann, a'g'ur ap' ep'e'g'ad  
an alt'upa.

I'p'e inop'po pað ap' ap' ep'e'g'p'ium an ta'lt'up  
.i. mac mai' p'oba'is a'com [read o'cco] .i.  
maelp'ap'iaic a' annu. Ro'p'g'ob g'at'up baip in  
mac. Ro' g'ob an ta'lt'up po' p'eað'e ma ti'm'eill  
ap' ða'ð co'nað'bað ma'p' in mac. N'ip ta'p-  
ba'ð do'ib'p'uiñ p'iu, uai'p ba ma'p' in mac pa  
ce'ðoip. I'ubai'p'e Maelp'u'etain nach g'ebað  
alt'up ep'e bi'etuiñ o nað p'aca'ð anoi'p ac  
D'ia paip. 7 n'í ðea'p'anoi'p tuc D'ia ðon Al-  
t'up g'an p'lainci ðiað mac pañ, a'et' p'ea'p'ip  
lei'p in mac do be'it'h ei'p' muinn'ci'p ne'm'e na  
ei'p' muinn'ci'p ta'lman. po ba'et' Maelp'u-  
etain p'eað'e mb'liað'na cen alt'up do g'obail.  
Iarp'inn ta'ng'ada'p a ep'iu'p ða'lt'að do a'g'al-  
uið Maelp'u'etain i'p'e'et'aib ep'iu colum n'geal,  
7 p'ea'p'p'am p'ait'ci'p'p'iu. Inno'p'ib' ða'm ce pað  
ino p'ae'g'ail, 7 an pað'ui'm po'è'p'ui'ci. A'et'a, ap'  
p'ia'ð'p'om, ep'iu b'liað'na do p'ae'g'ul acub, 7 do  
ðul a n'ip'ponn co'p'p'ach iarp'inn. Cið inna mbe-  
inn a n'ip'ponn, ap' ei'p'iu. ap' ep'iu p'achuið, ap'  
p'ia'ð'p'um, 7 po inno'p'ib'ap na ep'iu pa'et'a a ðu-  
b'p'uma'p' p'omui'n. N'í ba ep'iu mo ðul'pa an  
ip'ponn, ap' re, uai'p na ep'iu huilc p'iu, ap'p'e,  
a'et'aic o'com'p'a aniu, n'í b'iað o'com'p'a aniu, n'í  
b'iað ocum'p'a op'unu amach, 7 ep'e'g'p'eað'pa na  
huilc p'iu, 7 lo'g'p'ar' D'ia ðam iad, ama'it po  
g'eall p'ei'n an ta'n a ðu'ba'p'e: "imp'iet'ap in-  
p'is in quacumque ho'p'a co'nu'ep'p'ur p'ue'p'it  
non no'ce'bit ei." N'í ðén ð'na, ci'all uam p'ei'n  
ip'iu canó'ini [a'et'] ama'it no g'e'ib' ip'na leo-  
b'p'uib' uiað'uib'. G'ebað ð'na ceð p'le'et'ain

live, and that he goes to hell for ever, after the sen-  
tence is passed upon him on the day of judgment."

"Tell us," said they, "why he is sent to hell."  
"For three causes," said the angel, "viz., because  
of how much he interpolates the canon<sup>1</sup>; and be-  
cause of the number of women with whom he has  
lain; and for having abandoned the *Altus*."

The reason why he abandoned the *Altus* was this:  
He had a good son, whose name was Maelpa-  
trick. This son was seized with a mortal sickness,  
and the *Altus* was sung seven times around him, that  
the son should not die. This was, however, of no avail  
for them, as the son died forthwith. Maelsuthain  
then said that he would never again sing the *Altus*,  
as he did not see that God honoured it. But it was  
not in dishonour of the *Altus* that God did not re-  
store his son to health, but because He chose that the  
youth should be among the family of heaven, rather  
than among the people of earth. Maelsnthain had  
then been seven years without singing the *Altus*.  
After this his three pupils came to talk to Maelpa-  
trick, in the forms of three white doves, and  
he bade them welcome. "Tell me" [said he]  
"what shall be the length of my life, and if I shall  
receive the heavenly reward." "Thou hast," said  
they, "three years to live, and thou goest to hell for  
ever then." "What should I go to hell for?" said  
he. "For three causes," said they; and they re-  
lated to him the three causes that we have already  
mentioned. "It is not true that I shall go to hell,"  
said he, "for those three vices that are mine this day,  
shall not be mine even this day, nor shall they be  
mine from this time forth, and I will abandon these  
vices, and God will forgive me for them, as He Him-  
self hath promised, when He said: 'Impietas impi-  
in quacumque hora conversus fuerit non nocebit  
ei' [Ezek. xxxiii., 12]. I will put no sense of my  
own into the canon, but such as I shall find in the

<sup>1</sup> *The Canon*.—This apparently signifies the code  
of ecclesiastical laws, which Maelsuthain was called  
upon to administer as chieftain of his tribe, and which  
he had probably often interpreted so as to suit his  
own secular interests or inclinations: for he after-

wards in this narrative is made to promise, "I will  
put no sense of my own into the Canon, but such as  
I shall find in the divine books." But the word *Ca-  
non* is used also to signify the Old or New Testament.  
See Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 359, note °.

cech lai. Seacht mbliadhna atcupa gen Altur do gabail, 7 gebad in tAltur po reacht cec noicid cen beo beo, 7 do den tpeginur ceda reachtmume. Denaid ri dno coet docum neithe, ar pe, 7 tigi allo meirbeadta dinnuiri pcel daih. Tueramuid, ar riad, 7 do cuadar a triup pon tuaparcbail cedna, 7 po beannaetrad do, 7 po beannaed ruih daih ruih. Illo an eirbeeda tangubar a triup pon tuapurcbail cedna, 7 po beannachachu [7 beannacha] each da eile dih, 7 po riapaid dih : in mann mo beadara indiu ac Dia 7 an la eile tangaduiur dom agalluid. Ni hinann umorpo, arriad, uair do tearbenad duinne timadra ar neith, 7 ir leop linnid a feabur. Tangamapne amu, amail po geallamapne, ar do ceannra, 7 tar linn ar amur an maid rin, co nobuiri i riapracur De 7 an aentaib na Tri-noib, 7 muinntuiri neithe, co bpad na mbreath.

Ir annuiri po timoibid riapair [riapair] 7 cleirid imda cuigi, 7 po hongad he, 7 ni po rgairad a dalaid riur no du nbeadad do cum neithe. 7 irre rereptua [rereptua] in riur maith rin ata in innuiri riadlenn irin eclair por. Pime.

Another brief allusion to the *Altus* occurs in the *Mesca*, or "Intoxication," of St. Columcille, a pretended prophecy attributed to that saint, and said to have been written a week before his death. At the conclusion of this forgery (which was probably composed in the seventeenth century), St. Columcille is made to say that he leaves the *Altus*, with some other of his compositions, as a legacy to the men of Ireland<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>s</sup> *Screptra*.—This word appears to be a corruption of *Scriptura*; but whether it signifies here a single work, or a collection of MSS., Mr. Curry professes himself unable to determine. The Four Masters mention the burning of Armagh, A. D. 1020, in which the only house that escaped was the Teach rereptua, "Domus Scripturarum," the Bibliotheca or Library (as Colgan, and O'Donovan, translate it), but which was more probably the *Scriptorium*, i. e. the house or apartment in which books were written. See Maitland, *Dark Ages*, p. 405, sq. But at the date 1417 (p. 829), the Four

divine books. I will perform an hundred genuflections every day. Seven years have I been without singing the *Altus*, and now I will sing the *Altus* seven times every night while I live; and I will keep a three days' fast every week. Go you now to heaven," said he, "and come on the day of my death to tell me the result." "We will come," said they; and the three of them departed as they came, first leaving a blessing with him, and receiving a blessing from him. On the day of his death the three came in the same forms, and they saluted him, and he returned their salutation, and said to them: "Is my life the same before God that it was on the former day that ye came to talk to me?" "It is not, indeed, the same," said they, "for we were shown thy place in heaven, and we are satisfied with its goodness. We have come, as we promised, for thee, and come now with us to the place which is prepared for thee in the presence of God, and in the unity of the Trinity, and of the hosts of heaven, until the judgment of judgments."

There then assembled about him many priests and ecclesiastics, and he was anointed, and his pupils parted not from him until they all went to heaven together. And it is this good man's writings ["screptra"] that are in Inisfallen, in the church, still.

Masters record the burning of the Church of Inis Mor [now Church Island] in Loch Gill, near Sligo, in which the "Screaptra Ui Chuirnin," or MSS. of O'Cuirnin, and the "Leabhar Gearr" [short book] of the same family, were burned. See Dr. O'Donovan's notes on this passage.

<sup>b</sup> *Ireland*.—See this passage quoted by Dr. Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. lxxx., where, however, in the third line, for ag riad an epea, read mo mheapga, and translate "My *Amlra*, my *Mesca*, pure, bright." For a further account of the *Mesca*, see Prof. Curry's *Lectures*, p. 406, sq.



## XV. THE HYMN OF ST. COLUMBA, "IN TE CHRISTE."

THE following Hymn was first printed by Colgan, probably from the MS. now preserved at St. Isidore's College in Rome. Colgan's text is the only copy of the Hymn to which the Editor has access for collation with the Dublin MS.; and is referred to in the notes by the letter C. It is the more to be regretted that we have not access to the Isidorian MS., because the Irish Preface is in many places illegible, and the preface, as published by Colgan, is either a mere abridgment of his original, or must have been translated from a different text.

Colgan's version of the Preface<sup>1</sup> is as follows:—

"*In te Christe*, &c. S. Columba composuit hunc hymnum cursivo rythmo. Et causa fuit, quod parce disseuerit de sacro-sancta Trinitate in Hymno præcedenti, quem alioquin optimum pronuntiavit S. Gregorius Papa."

The following is a translation of all that is now legible of the Irish Preface in the Dublin MS. of the *Liber Hymnorum* :—

"*In te Christe*. Columcille made this Hymn. He made it in rhythm: sixteen syllables in each line: but some say that it was not Columcille at all that composed it, [except] from the words "Christus Redemptor," to [the words] "Christus crucem," and that is the reason why many repeat that part *only*. The place<sup>2</sup> was Hy; the time, that of Aedh son of Ainmire; the cause was, when he sent [messengers to Rome] with the Altus, Gregory found fault with Columcille, because he had put into it [too scanty praise of the Trinity]."

In this translation the Editor has supplied within brackets, by conjecture, what appears to have been the sense of the matter contained in the passages now illegible; guided by the account of the occasion upon which this Hymn

<sup>1</sup> *Preface*.—Trias Thaum., p. 475.

Hymn was composed. See above, p. 220,

<sup>2</sup> *The place*.—That is, the place where the

and notes.

was composed, as told in the Preface to the *Altus*. It will be observed, however, that the censure said to have been passed by Pope Gregory upon the *Altus* is differently expressed in the three versions of its Preface, which have been already given at length<sup>1</sup>. In the version given in our Dublin MS., the censure is put into the mouth of St. Columba's messenger (which is most probably a mistake of transcription in the MS.), but the censure itself is thus expressed,—“that there was no fault in the Hymn except the scanty praise of the Trinity which it contained *per se*; although He [the Trinity] was praised in His creatures”<sup>2</sup>. In the *Leabhar Breacc* Pope Gregory is represented as stating his objection thus<sup>3</sup>, “minus quam debuit Deus memorari in eo memoratus est.” But the Preface in Colgan's MS., or at least Colgan's translation of it, suggests a somewhat different sense; for Gregory, he says, “opusculum magnopere laudavit, solumque illud sibi in eo displicere dixit, quod autor parcius in eo de Trinitate *disseruerit*, quam optaret”<sup>4</sup>. And again, in his version of the Preface to the Hymn now before us, he uses the same word, “quod parce *disseruerit* de sacrosancta Trinitate;” as if the objection was that the Hymn did not contain a sufficiently explicit declaration or exposition of the *doctrine* of the Trinity. But the meaning evidently is, that the author of the *Altus* did not celebrate *directly* the praises of the Almighty as such, but only His praises “in His creatures;” and the word *Trinity* is evidently used as equivalent to *Deus*, or the Deity, without any reference to the author's orthodoxy, or to his opinions on the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity, which were not disputed.

It is remarkable that Colgan's version of the Preface to the following Hymn omits all notice of the curious statement made in the Irish Preface, now for the first time printed, that some doubted<sup>5</sup> its genuineness, and that *many* were in the habit of reciting only lines 17–22 (or perhaps the meaning may be lines 17–25), as believing that portion of the Hymn only to be the genuine composition of St. Columcille.

In connexion with this doubt, it is remarkable that the Hymn plainly divides itself into two parts, the first of which ends (at line 16) with a doxology, exactly at the place where the genuine composition of St. Columba is said to begin,

<sup>1</sup> *At length*.—See Note A to the *Altus*, p. 220, *sq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Creatures*.—See p. 222.

<sup>3</sup> *Thus*.—*Supra*, p. 224. The construction is “In eo memoratus est Deus, minus quam

debuit memorari.”

<sup>4</sup> *Optaret*.—See p. 227.

<sup>5</sup> *Doubted*.—The early record of such a doubt is a curious evidence of the antiquity of the Hymn.

and thus may seem to have been a distinct composition in itself. There is also this peculiarity, tending to the same conclusion, that in this first part the lines (with three exceptions) begin with the word *Deus*; whilst in the remainder of the Hymn every line (one excepted) begins with the word *Christus*.

Be this, however, as it may, it does not at first sight seem very clear how the Hymn can have been understood to have supplied the defect of the *Altus*, "quod parcius de Trinitate disseruerit;" for, with the exception of the Doxologies (lines 15, 16, and 26-29), there is no allusion in it to the Trinity as such, neither is there in it anything more express or distinct, considered as a confession of faith in the *doctrine* of the Trinity, than that contained in the first "Capitulum" of the *Altus*.

But we have seen that the objection to the *Altus* was, not that the author of the Hymn was unsound in faith, or in any way heterodox on the *doctrine* of the Trinity, but that in his Hymn he had not made the praise of the Trinity, i. e. of God Almighty, sufficiently prominent or direct; in other words, the real fault was, not that the *doctrine* of the Trinity was insufficiently acknowledged, but that the Hymn was mainly occupied in the praise of created things, or of God as Creator, and not so much in the direct praise of God in His essence and attributes.

In this point of view, the Hymn *In Te Christe* fully supplies the defect. It commences by a prayer to Christ as God, to have mercy on all the faithful. It prays to God to make haste to help all those who are in labour or distress. And then it proceeds to praise God, as the Father of the faithful; the Life of the living; the God of all gods; the Virtue of all virtues; the Creator of all things; the Judge of judges; the Prince of princes; the God of the elements; the God of good help; the God of the heavenly Jerusalem; the King of glory; the God of the quick; the God of eternal light; the ineffable God; the High God, worthy of all love, inestimable, bountiful, long suffering, teacher of the teachable; the God who maketh all things, whether new or old.

With this supplement to the *Altus*, it could not possibly have been objected that there was in it "a scanty praise of the Trinity *per se*," that is, of God Almighty as such.

The Hymn then takes up the praise of Christ:—He is the Redeemer of the Gentiles; the Lover of virgins; the Fountain of the wise; the Faith of believers; the Breastplate of soldiers; the Creator of all things; the Health of the living; the Life of the dying: He hath crowned our army with a crowd

of Martyrs; He hath ascended the cross; He hath saved the world; He hath redeemed us, and suffered for us; He hath descended into hell; He hath ascended into heaven; He hath sat down with God (*ubi nunquam defuerat*) on that throne which, as God, He had never left.

This summary of the Hymn strongly confirms the opinion already expressed, that the defect which it was supposed to supply in the *Altus* was not a theological defect in the confession of Trinitarian doctrine, but a deficiency in the *direct* praise of God and of Christ.

The language of the Hymn is evidently ancient. Among its peculiarities may be noted the use of the pluperfect for the perfect; "Christus crucem ascenderat;" "mundum salvaverat;" "nos redemerat;" "cælum ascenderat." "Cum Deo sederat, ubi nunquam defuerat." This peculiarity will be observed also in the writings of Adamnan.





IN TE CHRISTE. Columicille doponai immimmonpa. Tre pithim dopponai, re pillaba  
 dee in eechi line. Aebepac uº paipen conach e Columicille etip dopponai [f] ota  
 Chripur pedemptor 7 . . . . chripur epucem, 7 ip aipe ima aebepac multu illam  
 partem. Locup hi, tempur Aeda meic ainmipech. Caupa apala at po . . . . .  
 nab . . . . . con altur, 7 iped on poimechpech Driegoip im Columicille opo  
 chup . . . . .



TE CHRISTE CREDENTIUM MISEREARIS OMNIUM  
 TU ES DEUS IN SECUŁA SECUŁORUM IN GLORIA

DEUS IN ADIUTORIUM INTENDE LABORANTIUM  
 AD DOLORUM REMEDIUM PESTIMA IN AUXILIUM

DEUS PATER CREDENTIUM DEUS VITA UIVENTIUM 5  
 DEUS DEORUM OMNIUM DEUS VIRTVS VIRTVTIUM

DEUS FORMATOR OMNIUM DEUS ET IUDEX IUDICIUM  
 DEUS ET PRINCEPS PRINCIPUM ELEMENTORUM OMNIUM

DEUS OPIS EXIMIAE CELESTIS HIERUSOLIMAE  
 DEUS REX REGNI IN GLORIA DEUS IPSE UIVENTIUM 10

DEUS AETERNI LUMINIS DEUS INENARRABILIS  
 DEUS ALTUS AMABILIS DEUS INESTIMABILIS

1. *In te Christe*.—This Hymn has no gloss, except over the word *eximiae* (ver. 9), where the gloss, although nearly illegible, appears to be *excelpa*.

3. *Laborantium*.—Are these words al-  
 luded to in the preface to the *Altus*? see  
 above, p. 221, note <sup>n</sup>.

6. *Virtutum*.—This anomaly is neces-

sary for the metre. C. reads, “Deus vir-  
 tutis virtutum.”

7. *Et iudex*.—C. omits *et* here and in  
 the next line. But in both, *et* is necessary  
 to the metre.

8. *Hierusolimae*.—Ierosolymæ, C.

11. *Inenarrabilis*.—This word is also  
 used, line 91 of the preceding hymn.

**D**eus largus longanimis deus doctor docibilis  
deus qui facit omnia noua cuncta et uetera

**D**ei patris in nomine filique sui prospere  
sancti spiritus utique recto uado itenere 15

**C**hristus redemptor gentium christus amator uirginum  
christus pons sapientium christus pides credentium

**C**hristus lorica militum christus creator omnium  
christus salus uiuentium et uita morientium 20

**C**oronauit exercitum nostrum cum turba martirum  
christus crucem ascenderat christus mundum saluauerat

**C**hristus et nos redemeret christus pro nobis passus est  
christus infernum penetrat christus caelum ascenderat

**C**hristus cum deo sederat ubi nunquam defuerat 25

**G**loria haec est altissimo deo patri ingenito  
honor ac summo filio unico unigenito

**S**piritusque optimo sancto perfecto sedulo  
amen fiat perpetua in sempiterna secula.

in te x̄pe cre.

13. *Doctor docibilis*.—Teacher of the teachable man.

15. *Filiq̄ue*.—Filiiq̄ue, C.

16. *Itenere*.—Itinere, C. "I walk in the right way of God the Father, &c."

23. *Redemeret*.—Redemerat, C.

24. *Christus infernum*.—C. omits this line.

28. *Optimo*.—Optimo, C. *Sedulo*.—Amen, C.

29. *Perpetua*.—C. reads, "fiat et hæc perpetua, in sempiterna secula." At the end are added the words with which the hymn begins, according to the usual custom of Irish scribes, to show that the hymn ends here, and that the words that follow are no part of it. See above, p. 23, n., and see also p. 80, where the entire of the first verse of a Hymn is repeated at the end.

Πρωτεγατ νορ αλτιρριμυρ δε ρυρ παντιρ ρεδιbury 30  
 Quin ribi ζμνορ canimur decim ρτατυτιρ uicibury  
 Sitque nobir pporitury diebur atque noctibury.

31. *Ymnos.*—Hymnos, C. *Decim.*—  
Decem, C.

The last stanza, *Protegat nos*, is in the angular character already frequently mentioned. In the margin is the following note:—δειχ τπαθα δο chelebrad colum cille ut pepune. γ ιρα ρταρ eoin cappon puc pom peim, "Columcille used to celebrate ten canonical hours, as they say; and it was from John Cassian's history he took this." No mention is made of this custom of observing ten canonical hours, in the lives of St. Columba; but the "John Cassian" here quoted is evidently the celebrated John Cassian, who was ordained deacon by St. Chrysostom (c. A.D. 404), and whose works on the monastic life and institutes were so widely read during the

middle ages. He was one of the first to propagate in the west, the eastern custom of fixed hours of prayer, afterwards called the canonical hours: *Instit.* lib. iii. c. 3. But it does not appear that *ten* such hours were enjoined by him. In the ancient church of Ireland, he was honoured as a saint on the 25th of November, at which day his name occurs in the *Felire*, or metrical calendar of Ængus the Culdee; but the more modern calendars of Marianus Gorman, of Tallaght, and of Donegal, make no mention of him; no doubt, in consequence of his having given currency to semipelagian opinions. On the Continent several churches were dedicated to him, and he was honoured as a saint in many places on the 23rd July. Tillemont, *Mémoires*, tom. xiv. p. 187.

## XVI. THE HYMN OF ST. COLUMBA, "NOLI PATER."

COLGAN has printed two copies of this Hymn: the one in his Abridgment of O'Donnell's Life of Columba<sup>1</sup>, the other from his copy of the Book of Hymns<sup>2</sup>. The former of these seems to be an extract only, as it ends with "&c.," and omits the last two quatrains, besides other variations which will be pointed out in the notes. The latter copy Colgan himself describes as "paulo correctiorem, tametsi non plene correctum"<sup>3</sup>, which implies he did not consider his copy of the Book of Hymns as perfectly accurate, although "antiqua manu descriptus." How far the present edition is an improvement on the two former, will appear from the following pages.

The account given by O'Donnell of the occasion upon which this Hymn was composed is evidently taken from the Preface to it in the Book of Hymns; both accounts are substantially the same. The Editor will not enter into any discussion of the difficulty, which this narrative has suggested, as to the date of the donation of Daire Calcaigh (now Londonderry) to St. Columba by Aedh, son of Ainmire. This subject has been examined by Dr. Reeves, and the supposed difficulty completely removed<sup>4</sup>; it will, therefore, only be necessary to give here a translation of the Preface, with some illustrative notes:—

*Noli Pater.* Columcille composed this Hymn, as he did the *In Te Christe*. The place was the door of Disert Daire Chalcaigh<sup>5</sup>. The time was the same<sup>6</sup>, viz., that of Aedh, son of Ainmire. The cause was this:—Once upon a time Columcille came to Daire to a conference:

<sup>1</sup> *Columba*.—Trias. Thaum., p. 397.

<sup>2</sup> *Hymns*.—Ibid., p. 476.

<sup>3</sup> *Correctum*.—Ibid., p. 450, note 47.

<sup>4</sup> *Removed*.—Reeves, Adamnan, pp. 160, 161, note.

<sup>5</sup> *Disert Daire Chalcaigh*.—For the nature

of the monastic establishments, called *Deserts*, see Reeves, Adamnan, p. 366.

<sup>6</sup> *The same*.—i. e. the same as that in which the Hymn *In te Christe* was composed.

<sup>7</sup> *Conference*.—"Aliquando venit ad colloquium [i. e. colloquium] regis."



with the king, so that he [the king] granted him the fort, with its appurtenances. But Columcille refused the fort, because Móbí<sup>1</sup> had prohibited him to receive anything of the world, until he had heard of his [Móbí's] death. But when Columcille afterwards came to the gate of the town<sup>2</sup>, three<sup>3</sup> of the people of Móbí met him there, and they had Móbí's girdle with them, and they said, "Móbí is dead." And Columcille said:

Móbí's girdle! [Móbí's girdle]!  
It closed not upon emptiness,  
Moreover, it opened not upon satiety,  
Nor did it shut upon falsehood.

Columcille went back to the king, and he said to the king, "The offering which thou gavest to me yesterday, give to me now." "I will give it," said the king. The town was then burned,

<sup>1</sup> *Móbí*.—i. e. St. Móbí Clairenech, or the flat-faced, otherwise called Berchan, abbot of Glas-naoidhén (now Glasnevin, near Dublin), who was for a time the tutor of St. Columba (*O'Donnell*, lib. i., c. 43, *Trias Thaum.*, p. 396). Móbí having been compelled to close his school in consequence of the breaking out of a pestilence, S. Columba, with the other scholars, was sent away, and took his journey towards Tireconnell, having first received from Móbí this injunction, "Ne quam terram aut fundum pro exædificando monasterio aut aliis usibus acceptaret, nisi de ipsius scitu et venia."—*O'Donnell*, ib., c. 46. Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 160. The ancient quatrain quoted above, in praise of Móbí's girdle, occurs in a poem entitled, *Itinerarium na páirpige o' Colúmcille in onoir epepa Móbí*. "Itinerarium of the sea [i. e. verses to be recited on a journey on the sea], from Columkille, in honour of Móbí's girdle." An imperfect copy of this poem is preserved in the O'Clery MS. of Martyrologies, in the Burgundian Library, Brussels. The stanza with which we are concerned is given thus:—

Q̄ro epiop Móbí,  
níp bo penmí mlo  
níp nor̄laō ppí páit̄  
'rínp māaō ppí go.

"This is Móbí's girdle; it was not a bulrush round emptiness; it was not opened upon satiety, and it was not shut upon falsehood. In the Martyrology of Donegal, at Oct. 12, the stanza is given thus:—

Eniop Móbí [enriop Móbí]  
níbop ríðne mlo  
mín noplaōceob rípa ríat̄  
mín hiaōō mgo.

which differs from the former chiefly in spelling. The great difficulty is in the word *lua* or *lo*; in addition to the meaning given to it above, which seems to correspond best with the next line, it is interpreted in ancient glossaries .i. *uipce*, *water*; and .i. *bpat* *depeð*, *a red cloak*. In the same glossaries, *go* or *gwa* is explained *bpeð*, *a lie, falsehood*.

<sup>2</sup> *Town*.—*bale*, "of the bally." The word does not mean what we would now call a *town*. "Town" is commonly used to this day in every part of Ireland, even by those who only speak English, to denote a place, a farm, a gentleman's demesne or property. There was no *town* (properly so called) at Derry, in St. Columba's time, but only a *dún*, or fort, the residence of a chieftain.

<sup>3</sup> *Three*.—*O'Donnell* (*loc. cit.*, c. 48) says two. And so also the ancient Irish Life, quoted by Dr. Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 160, note.

with everything that was in it. "This is foolish," said the king, "for if it were not burnt, there would never have been any lack of raiment or food therein." "There never shall be," said he [Columcille]; "from henceforth, whoever shall be in it, shall never be a night fasting." The fire, however, in consequence of its greatness, threatened to burn the whole Daire, so that it was to save it, at that time, that this Hymn was composed. Or it was the Day of Judgment he had in view; or the fire of the festival of John<sup>5</sup>. And it is sung [*as a protection*] against every fire, and every thunder-storm, from that time forth; and whosoever sings it at bed time, and at rising, it protects him against lightning, and it protects the nine<sup>6</sup> persons whom he desires [to protect]."

Colgan's version of the Preface is as follows :—

*Noli pater indulgere.* S. Columba Kille composuit hunc Hymnum stylo rythmico ex tempore. In Daire Chalgach, seu Monasterio Dorensi, compositus fuit. Quidam dicunt, quod præ tremendi et extremi Judicii timore illum composuerit. Alii vero dicunt quod quando locum fundandi Monasterii, ab Aido Ainmirii filio, Hiberniæ Rege donatum, receperat, tanquam prophanum euraverat flammis absumi, ut sic Deo consecraretur; et cum incendii flamma per amœnum vicinum lucum, seu arboretum, depascendum vento et tonitruis perlata pertingeret, hinc Hymnum hunc composuerit, ad lucum illum ab incendii flammis præservandum. Duo privilegia recitantibus illum, pie creduntur a Domino concessa. Primum, quod præservet recitantes a fulminibus et tonitruis. Secundum, quod eos, qui consuescunt illum recitare vesperi, dum decumbunt, et mane quando surgunt, ab omni adversu casu protegat.

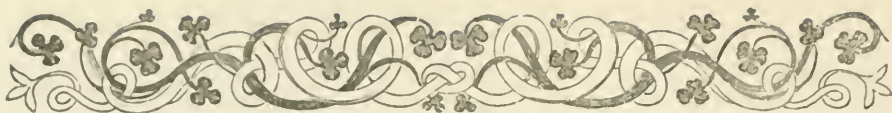
In the notes to the following Hymn, the various readings of the copy of it published in Colgan's version of O'Donnell's Life of St. Columba will be marked O'D.; and those of the copy printed by Colgan from his MS. of the Liber Hymnorum will be distinguished by the letter C.

<sup>4</sup> *Daire*.—i. e. the whole wood; *Daire* is an oak wood. See Reeves' Adamnan, p. 19, note<sup>e</sup>, and p. 160, note.

<sup>5</sup> *John*.—This is an allusion to the ancient custom of lighting fires on St. John's Eve. Paciaudius, in his learned work, *De cultu S. Johannis Baptistæ*, Romæ, 1755, 4<sup>o</sup>, labours to defend this custom from the charge of a pagan origin, and derives it from our Lord's words (John, v. 35): "Ille erat lucerna ardens et lucens: vos autem voluistis ad horam exultare in luce ejus." But the Capitula of Charlemagne (lib. v., tit. 2) condemn the St. John's Eve fires as remnants of paganism, under the old German term of *nodfeuers*.

Pertz, iii. 17, and compare Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie, vol. i., p. 570, sq. (2<sup>d</sup> edit.: Göttingen, 1844).

<sup>6</sup> *The nine*.—This is obscure; a word at the end having been cut off by the binder. The meaning seems to be that the recitation of the Hymn will protect not only him who sings it, but any other nine persons whom he may desire so to serve. Colgan loosely renders the clause, "ab omni adverso casu protegat;" he probably took *an̄ið* to signify "persecution," but it seems to be a verb, and occurs *supra* p. 205, line 12. (*an̄ið* occurs also as an adjective, meaning *nequam*.—Zeuss. p. 247, line 17.

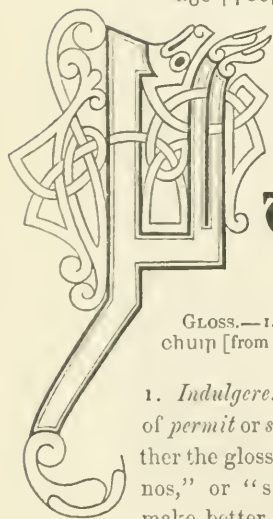


NOI pater. Columelle pecit hunc sumum; eodem modo ut in te Xpe. Locur do-  
pur dūpūt dāpū chalcaig. Tempur autem .i. Aeda meic ammepech. Caupa, co-  
lumeille aliquando uenit ad collocium pegur co dāpe co poedppad in porit do  
conairliud. Opaip iapum columelle in porit, quia ppholubuit nobi imme accipere  
mundum co clorad a éc.

Intan iapum tamic columelle co dopur in bale, ip ann rin dopala triap do muinrip  
mobí dó, 7 epur mobí oecu, 7 dūrepunt, mortuup ert mobí; 7 dūxit columelle: .

Epur mobí [epur mobí]  
nī po iabād mlua  
pech nī po oplaiceed nīa ráitī  
nī poounad imgua.

Uud columelle popecū corin píg, 7 dūxit pegi: Inn edpaipit eucapriū dāpīa imbuapue[h]  
euc dām nunc. Dobertchap, ap in pí. Loipetchei epā in baile coponeoch bai and  
uile. Eppach rin, ol in pi, ap manī loipetche, nī biad tacha bpoit na bñd ann co  
brath. biad imorpo ann o fein immach, ap re, inef biar ann nī bia áidch [leg. afdehū]  
epoipetche. Tapmaipit epā in tene apā met lopecūd in dāpe uile, conid apā aná-  
cul in tan rin dopónad intimmonpa; no ip lache bpatha dopat dia appe; no tene  
peile eom, 7 canaip ppi cech tenid 7 ppi cech topann o fein ille, cipe ḡabar po  
lige 7 poerḡe, no nanaiḡ ap thenid ḡgellan 7 anḡid in nonbur ip ail [doanacal] . . .



NOI pater indulgere tonitrua cum fulgure  
ac fragamur formidine huius atque uridine

Te timemus terribilem nullum credentes similem  
te cuncta canunt carmina angelorum per ag-  
mina

Gloss.—1. *Indulgere*.—i. nos. 2. *Huius*.—i. tonitruī. *Uridine*.—i. o eplapeud no a burde-  
chuir [from burning or from the yellow pestilence]. 3. *Similem*.—i. Deo. 4. *Canunt*.—i. laudant.

1. *Indulgere*.—Here used in the sense  
of *permit* or *suffer*. It is doubtful whe-  
ther the gloss over this word is not “in  
nos,” or “super nos,” which would  
make better sense than *nos*. “Suffer

not the thunder and lightning to fall  
upon us.”

2. *Ac*.—Ne, O'D. and C. *Uridine*.—  
Uredine, C.; O'D. reads *Firedine*, which  
only can be the Irish spelling of *Uredine*,

**T**æque exultent culmina cæli uagî per fulmina  
o ihesu amantissime o rex regum rectissime

5

**b**enedictus in secula recta regens regimina  
iohannes coram domino adhuc matris in utero

**R**epletus dei gratia pro uino atque siccera

**e**lizabeth et zacharias uirum magnum genuit  
iohannem baptizans precursorem domini

10

**m**anet in meo corde dei amoris flamma  
ut in argenti uase auri ponitur gemma.

Gloss.—5. *Exultent*.—i. *palcuigir* [welcome]. 7. *Benedictus*.—i. es. 8. *Johannes*.—i. gratia Dei interpretatur. 9. *Repletus*.—i. est. *Siccera*.—i. sine cera. i. non omni liquori ebrio excep . . . omnis liquor dulcis sic. . . .

viz., uipeðme; the u suffering what German philologists call *umlaut*, from the e of the following syllable.—*Zeuss. Gram. Celt.*, p. 18; *Ebel, Beiträge*, i. 164. There is no such word as *Viredo*.

4. *Cuncta*.—Juxta, O'D.

5. *Exultent*.—Exaltent, O'D. C. *Fulmina*.—Fulmina, C.

8. *Matris in*.—In Matris, O'D.

9. *Siccera*.—Sicera, O'D. C. O'Donnell's extract ends here. See Colgan,

*Trias Thaum.*, p. 397. The gloss upon this word runs out into the margin of the page, and is partly illegible.

10. *Zacharias*.—Elizabeth Zachariæ, C.

11. *Babtizam*.—Babtistam, C. The use of *z* for *st* in our MS. has already been noticed. See above, p. 78, n. 31.

13. *Argenti*.—Argenteo, C. *Auri*.—Aurea, C. These readings are inconsistent with the metre.



## XVII. THE PRAYER OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST.

THE following document is called "epistola" in one place, and "ymnus" in another, by the author of the Scholium or Preface; but it is really a prayer; and is said to have been uttered by St. John the Evangelist over the poisoned cup, offered to him by the heathen priest of Ephesus.

The Legend in which this prayer occurs, and which is given at length in the Preface, has appeared in two several works, both putting forth pretensions to great antiquity, although now universally admitted to be spurious, viz.: the *Acta Apostolorum, sive Historia certaminis Apostolici*, attributed to Abdias, first Bishop of Babylon; and the *Passio S. Johannis Evangelistæ*, ascribed to Mellitus, Bishop of Laodicea, or rather of Sardes.

The impostor who was the author of the former of these works calls himself a disciple of the Apostles, and professes to have been ordained first Bishop of Babylon by the Apostles themselves. He tells us also that he composed the work in the Hebrew language: that it was afterwards translated into Greek by his own disciple, Eutropius, and into Latin by Julius Africanus: "*quæ Africanus Historiographus in Latinam transtulit linguam*"<sup>1</sup>. These are the words of the author himself, who, whilst he pretends to have been a contemporary of the apostles, has made the singular blunder of attributing the translation of his work into Latin, to Africanus, a writer of the *third century*<sup>2</sup>!

<sup>1</sup> *Linguam*.—Apost. Hist., lib. 6, fol. 83 (ed. by John Faber). Paris, 1571; 8°. And see the note of Fabricius on this passage.—*Cod. Apocr. N. Test.* II., p. 389, 629.

<sup>2</sup> *Third century*.—There are internal evidences that Latin was the original language of the book, and that the assertion of its having

been first written in Hebrew was a deliberate falsehood: for example, such plays upon words as "In nomine Domini mei JESU impetrabam non imperabam" (lib. ix. c. 21); "non everti, sed converti eam" (lib. viii. c. 8), could scarcely have been the language of a translator.

But it is unnecessary for the object of the Editor to discuss the question of the genuineness of a work, whose pretensions have now no defenders<sup>1</sup>. Its author cannot have lived before the fifth century; he has uniformly quoted the modern Vulgate, and appears to have also used the Latin version of the writings of Eusebius<sup>2</sup>. There is good reason to believe, however, that the Venerable Bede had seen these "Acts of the Apostles," for he seems to refer to them under the title of "Histories of the Passions of the Apostles." If so, it will follow that the Pseudo-Abdias cannot have lived *later* than the beginning of the eighth century. The passage in the writings of Bede referred to is the following:—"Hos [Simonem scil. Zelotem, et Judam Jacobi] referunt Historiæ in quibus apostolorum passiones continentur, et a plurimis deputantur apocryphæ, prædicasse in Perside, ibique a templorum pontificibus in civitate Suanir occisos, gloriosum subiisse martyrium"<sup>3</sup>. The Pseudo-Abdias relates the story of the martyrdom of SS. Simon and Jude, in the city of Suanir in Persia, in exact accordance with Bede's citation, which renders it probable that the "Historiæ in quibus Apostolorum passiones continentur," referred to by him, was no other than the "Historia certaminis Apostolici" now extant, especially as we do not find elsewhere any mention of the city of Suanir<sup>4</sup>. If so, we see that, even at that time, the work was generally rejected as spurious, "a plurimis deputantur apocryphæ"<sup>5</sup>.

The "Passio S. Johannis Evangelistæ" attributed to Mellitus, has still

<sup>1</sup> *Defenders*.—The authorities are collected in the *Testimonia et Censuræ* prefixed to the *Historia* of Abdias, by Joh. Alb. Fabricius, *Codex Apocr. N. Test.*, Hamburg, 1703, tom. ii. p. 388, sq.; see also Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs Eccles.*, tom. i. p. 488; Coci, *Censura*, p. 82, sq.; Baronii *Annal.*, A. D. 51, N°. 51.

<sup>2</sup> *Eusebius*.—See Abdias, lib. vi. c. 4, and Fabricius, *ubi supr.*, p. 597, not. <sup>a</sup>. Fabricius has given the following negative opinion as to the age of this author: "Neque tantæ mihi videtur hoc scriptum antiquitatis, ut Hieronymis et Augustinis possit de ætate contendere. Nam ex veteribus nemo ejus meminit, et scribendi genus ipsum, et usus familiarior Vulgatæ ac versionum Rufini sequiorem ætatem arguunt."

<sup>3</sup> *Martyrium*.—Bedæ, *Retract. in Actt. Apostt.* i. 13 (Opp. tom. xii., p. 90, ed. Giles.)

<sup>4</sup> *Suanir*.—Abdiæ, *Hist. Apostol.*, lib. v. c. 20, sq. Fabricius says: "De civitate Persidis cui nomen *Suanir*, altum apud veteres silentium"—*Ubi supr.*, p. 744. Tillemont suggests that Suanir may be a city of the Suani or Surani, mentioned by Pliny. *Mém.*, t. i., p. 400.

<sup>5</sup> *Apocryphæ*.—See Oudin. *De Scriptoribus Eccles.*, tom. ii. 418, sq., where the arguments against the genuineness of the work are stated. Oudin, however, fixes A. D. 910, as the date of the Pseudo-Abdias, not being aware that the book was known to Bede, and that, therefore, it must have been extant before A. D. 735, when Bede died.

less pretensions to antiquity. Eusebius<sup>1</sup> mentions an eminent saint and writer, Mellitus, or Melito, Bishop of Sardes in Lydia (A.D. 170), and gives an account of his numerous writings, none of which are now extant. It is probable, therefore, that the author of the Passion of St. John, under the name of Mellitus, intended to personate this Melito of Sardes, although he has styled himself<sup>2</sup> "Mellitus servus Christi Episcopus Laudociæ" (i. e. Laodiceæ); but in another Apocryphal book<sup>3</sup>, "*De transitu Mariæ*," which is generally supposed to be by the same author, he has called himself "Melito servus Christi et episcopus ecclesiæ Sardensis," intending, no doubt, the Melito of Sardes, mentioned by Eusebius, and from Eusebius, by S. Jerome<sup>4</sup>.

It is not easy to fix the precise date of this Pseudo-Melito, or Mellitus. The book, *De obitu* [or *transitu*] *beatæ Mariæ*, is twice referred to by the Ven. Bede (*Retractt. in Actt.*, c. viii., xiii.), and in both cases with strong censure. That book, therefore, must be older than the eighth century; and so will fix the date of the "*Passio S. Johannis Evang.*," if we assume that both works, as both bearing the name of Mellitus, or Melito, are by the same author<sup>5</sup>.

The Legend of St. John and the poisoned cup occurs in the *Apostolica Historia* of Abdias, and also in the *Passio S. Johannis* of Mellitus, in nearly the same words, and it is evident that one of these writers (if they be different) must have copied from the other, or both from some common source. This Legend is given in the Irish Preface to the following Prayer, with some variations from the narratives of Abdias and Mellitus, which will be pointed out in the Additional Notes, so far as they are of any importance.

There is a valuable (although not perfect) MS. of the Pseudo-Abdias in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin (G. 4. 16) which is probably of the tenth or early part of the eleventh century. The story of St. John and the poisoned cup from the text of this MS. will be found in Note B, p. 272, *infra*.

In the artistic representations of St. John in the pictures and stained glass of the middle ages, he is frequently represented holding in his hand a cup, or

<sup>1</sup> Eusebius.—Euseb. Hist. Eccl., lib. iv. c. 26, who calls him Μελῖτων τῆς ἐν Σάρδεσι παροικίας ἐπίσκοπος.

<sup>2</sup> Styled himself.—J. A. Fabricii, *ubi supra*, part iii., p. 604.

<sup>3</sup> Book.—Fabricius. *Ibid.*, p. 623.

<sup>4</sup> S. Jerome.—De Viris Illustribus, cap. 24.

<sup>5</sup> Author.—Ceillier says (*Hist. des Auteurs Eccles.*, tom. ii., p. 79), speaking of the tract, *De obitu B Mariæ*, "L'Auteur paroît être le même que celui du livre qui a pour titre: *La Passion de S. Jean l'Evangeliste* sous le nom de Mellitus, Evêque de Laodicée." See also Fabricius, *loc. cit.*

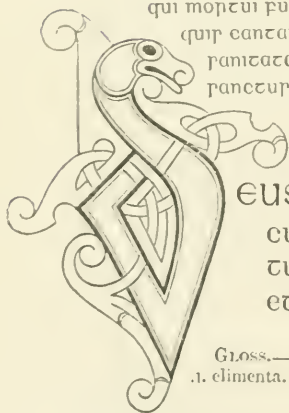
chalice, sometimes a serpent, sometimes a demon, is seen issuing from the chalice. These representations are evidently founded on the Legend with which we are concerned; the serpent, or demon, representing the flight of the deadly influence from the poisoned cup.

A translation of the Scholiast's preface will be found in Note A, p. 271, *infra*. It is to be regretted that some words in this preface, and particularly the passage with which it concludes, are now illegible in our MS.





DEUS MEUS. Iohanne filiiur Gebedei hanc epistolam fecit. In eperiu dana dononab, inaimfir imorpio domiciani dononab; haec erc caura .i. con[ctinn] mór dónala etiu eoin 7 apurtoðim .i. facapre tempul deanae. Conerbaire eoin fri apurtoðim, Tiaðam a apurtoðim ol fe, co tempul epire fil irin eathraiz 7 atcaiz deam ann eo taith in tempul, 7 peða leciu iarpin co tempul deanae, 7 guðfætta epire copo tuite, 7 dia teth tempul deane epumra ir ferr epire ar deam, 7 irpeð ar chóir duitriu adrad epire iarpin. Dentar iarpum ar apurtoðim. Iotar porre co tempul epire, opauit apurtoðimur trubur horur deanam, et nec tamen cecidit templum chripri. Exierunt porrea ad templum deanae, et opauit iohanne ut ca-deperet et pcatim cecidit. Et apurtoðimur temptauit occidere iohannem reb non aurur erc ppo multitudine Chriprianorum. III pail nī polaab eumtabaire uait beor apurtoðim, ar eoin. Aða, ar fe, dianebaru lán caliz de linn . . . . ueneno et ri non epur morpuur pcatim cpebam deo tuo: 7 dixit iohanne, dūc hūc, dabi-tur, ar fe, aet co taratar donacimmedaib ar epualtar do marbað iconð rið nunc, quia non meliur erc mori ferrpo quam ueneno, ut timeret iohanne dixit apurtoðimur hoc. et priimur porpexit cani uenenum et pcatim morpuur erc, 7 porre eanem porpexit remiae, 7 illa pimitet morpua erc, 7 porrea datur erc illur potur, 7 morpui punt pcatim. 7 ric debet iohanni, 7 dixit iohanne tunc, deupmeur pater, .7rl. 7 bibit 7 noñ nocuit ei. 7 haec erc caura dēnma huiur ſmni. 7 pupreitri punt qui morpui puerunt ueneno. 7 ric cpeðibit apurtoðimur, 7 alu mulci cum eo. 7 ri quip canauperit hunc ſmnum in liquorem aut in aliquid quod porit nocere in panitatem [pedit]. III fine uniuersurque anni elegitur de populo iuuenir panctur fine macula peccati, ut ton . . . ioh . . . 7 unger eiur cipeum . . .



DEUS meus et pater et filius et spiritus sanctus  
cui omnia subiecta sunt et cui omnis crea-  
tura deseruit et omnis potestas subiecta est  
et metuit et expauescit et draco fugit et silit

Gloss.—1. *Deus meus*.—Adit tu extingue. 2. *Cui*.—i. ir duitriu [it is to thee]. *Omnia*.—  
.i. climenta. 4. *Draco*.—Multa genera sunt draconum .i. terrestres. . . . sed omnes igne nocent.

1. *Deus meus*.—The gloss over these words signifies that the word *Deus* “goes to” *tu* *extingue*; i.e. that *Deus* is in apposition with *tu* (line 11), all between being a parenthesis.

4. *Draco*.—The gloss over this word, which is in Latin, runs out into the margin, and is partly obliterated. All that is legible of it is given above.

uipera et rubeta illa quae dicitur rana quieta torpes- 5  
cit scorpium exstingitur regulus uincitur et spelagijs ml

Gloss.—5. *Vipera*.—i. e. vi parens, .i. dente nocet. *Quieta*.—i. antach .i. bleðmíl. 6. *Regulus*.  
—i. anela nocet. *Spelagijs*.—i. uestigio nocet.

5. *Vipera*.—The etymology in the gloss, “vi parens,” is an allusion to the ancient popular opinion as to the parturition of the viper, which is thus described by Isidorus Hispalensis:—“*Vipera dicta, quod vi pariat. Nam, quum venter ejus ad partum ingemuerit, catuli non expectantes naturæ maturam solutionem corrosis eius lateribus vi crumpunt cum matris interitu.*”—*Etymol.* lib. xii. cap. iv. n. 10. (*Opp.* tom. iv., p. 65. *Romæ*. 1801.) *Rana*.—“Ex iis [ranis, sc.] quædam aquaticæ dicuntur, quædam palustres, quædam rubetæ, ob id quia in vepribus vivunt grandiores cunectarum.”—*Isid. Hispal.*, *ibid.*, cap. vi. n. 58 (*Opp.* *ib.* p. 85). *Quieta*.—Over this word occurs the gloss in Irish, which is given above, and which, probably, may have been intended to explain *Draco*, although, for want of room, written under instead of over that word. But it may have been intended to explain *rana*, an animal then, perhaps, unknown in Ireland. The word *antach* occurs, p. 206, *supra* (line 10), as a gloss on the word “otiosa.” Mr. Curry thinks that it signifies here the *remora*, or *echineis*. *bleðmíl* is a *whale*; *bleð*, a whale; “gl. pistrix; gl. bellua marina” (*Zeuss*, p. 100); *míl*, a beast; Welsh, *míl*. So that the author of the gloss, having no idea of a frog or toad, imagined it to be a sea monster, a whale, or *remora*: an animal able to stop the progress of a ship at sea, by ad-

hering to the keel. In O'Davoren's glossary we have “*bleth* .i. *míl mór* [a whale]; *blaid*, i. e. *muir* [the sea], ut est *blaidhmíl*” [a sea-beast]. Stokes, *Three Old-Irish Glossaries*, pp. 59, 61. *Torpescit*.—In the margin are these words: “*Coluber cinere, scorpium cauda . . . . silius* [? *basiliscus*, or *sibilus*] ossibus post mortem nocet, serpens lingua [i. e. lingua] nocet.” These descriptions are not from Isidore, who says, however, “*Sibilus idem est qui regulus. Sibilus enim occidit, antequam mordeat vel exurat.*”—*Etym.* xii., c. iv., n. 9.

6. *Regulus*.—Is the Latin equivalent for the Greek *Basiliscus*, and denotes the same serpent:—“*Basiliscus græce, latine interpretatur regulus, eo quod rex serpentum est, adeo ut cum videntes fugiant, quia olfactu suo eos necat; nam et hominem vel si aspiciat interimit. Siquidem ad ejus aspectum nulla avis volans illæsa transit, sed quamvis procul sit, ejus ore combusta devoratur.*”—*Isid. Etym.*, xii., cap. iv. n. 6 (*Opp.* ut *supr.*, p. 64). This explains the gloss, “.i. anela [for *anhela*] nocet;” (*anhela* taken as a subst.), “by breathing hurts.” In the margin there is the following note:—“*Regulus, .i. rex omnium serpentium, nulla avis volans viso eo potest evadere . . . . peste, et tamen mustella cum occidit.*” This seems from Isidore, who adds, after the words above quoted, “*A mustelis tamen vincitur:*

noxium operatur et omnia uenenata et adhuc perociora  
 repentia et animalia noxia tenebrantur et omnes aduer-  
 sae salutis humanae radices arescunt. tu exstingue hoc ue-  
 nenatum uirus. et exstingue operationes eius mortíferas et 10  
 uires quas in se habet euacua et da in conspectu tuo om-  
 nibus his quos tu creasti oculos ut uideant, aures ut au-  
 deant, cor ut magnitudinem tuam intelligant, amen. ma-  
 theus marcus lucas iohannes.

Gloss.—10. *Operationes*.—1. ueneni.

quas illi homines inferunt cavernis, in  
 quibus delitescit.”—*Ibid.*, n. 7, p. 65.

6. *Spelagius*.—Pseudo-Melito and  
 Pseudo-Abdias, as printed by Fabricius,  
 both read *phalangius*; but the Dublin MS.  
 of the latter has *sphalangius*: this is the  
*phalangium* (φαλάγγιον) or venomous spi-  
 der of Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* viii. 27, *et alibi*;  
 Vegetius, *De Re Vet.*, iii. 80 (al. 81), where  
 some edd. have *sphalangiis*. The gloss,  
 “vestigio nocet,” seems to intimate that

this spider insinuates his poison by merely  
 crawling over the flesh.

12. *Audeant*.—This is only the Irish  
 orthography of *e* for *i*; for *audiant*. See  
 Reeves’ *Adamnan*, *Pref.*, p. xvi., xvii.

13. *Matheus*.—This is a curious ex-  
 ample of the ancient custom of invocat-  
 ing the names of the Evangelists, as a  
 protection against evil: “Matthew, Mark,  
 Luke, and John, Bless the bed that we  
 lye on.”

## ADDITIONAL NOTES.

### NOTE A.

#### *The Scholiast's Preface.*

THIS Preface is written in the same mixture of Latin and Irish which we have already had occasion to notice in the other Prefaces. The following is a literal translation :—

*Deus meus.* John, son of Zebedee, composed this Epistle. In Ephesus it was composed. In the time of Domitian it was composed. This was the cause :—There was a great contest between John and Aristodemus, the priest of the Temple of Diana, so that John said to Aristodemus, "Let us go, O Aristodemus," said he, "to the Temple of Christ, which is in the city, and pray thou there to Diana that the Temple may fall, and I will go with thee afterwards to the Temple of Diana, and I will pray to Christ that it may fall; and if the Temple of Diana shall fall for me, then Christ is better than Diana, and it will be right for thee to worship Christ henceforth." "Let this be done," said Aristodemus. They went then to the Temple of Christ. Aristodemus<sup>a</sup> prayed for three hours to Diana; and, nevertheless, the Temple of Christ fell not. They went afterwards to the Temple of Diana, and John prayed that it might fall, and it fell immediately. And Aristodemus sought to kill John; but durst not, owing to the number of the Christians.

"Is there<sup>b</sup> anything that would banish doubt from thee, O Aristodemus?" said John. "There is," said he; "if thou drink a full cup of ale [mixed] with poison, and if thou shalt not be dead, I will at once believe in thy God;" and John said, "Bring it hither, it shall be given," said he. "But let it be given to the prisoners, who are about to be put to death by the king now, for it is not better to die by the sword than by poison." Aristodemus said this that John might fear; and first he gave the poison to a dog<sup>c</sup>, and it died immediately; and after the dog he gave to an ape, and it died likewise; and afterwards the draught was given to them [i. e. to the prisoners], and they died immediately. And so he gave it to

<sup>a</sup> *Aristodemus.*—From this word to the end of the paragraph is in Latin.

<sup>b</sup> *Is there.*—The next words are Irish, to the word "*ale*;" then Latin, to "it shall be given;" then Irish, to the words "to be put to death by the

king now;" the remainder is Latin.

<sup>c</sup> *To a dog.*—There is nothing about these experiments upon the dog and the ape in the original Legend, as given by the Pseudo-Abdias and Mellitus. See Add. Note B.



John; and John said then, *Deus meus, Pater*, &c., and he drank, and it did him no hurt. And this is the cause of the composition<sup>d</sup> of this hymn; and they who had died of the poison were raised, and so Aristodemus believed, and many others with him. And if any one shall sing this Hymn over drink, or anything that might prove injurious, it will restore him to health [*or render it harmless.*]

"At the end of every year there is elected out of the people a holy youth, without stain of sin, that . . . . ."

The remaining words are illegible; a few letters here and there are visible, but the deficiency can only be supplied by conjecture. Dr. O'Donovan suggests, "ut tondetur in f [i. e. in feria] Johannis, et ungetur eius circum . . . ." or "ut tondeat eum episcopus Johanni . . . . et unges[?] eius circum . . . ." The name Mael-eoin, which signifies "tonsured to John," or in honour of John (now anglicized *Malone*), is common in Ireland, and bears testimony to the ancient custom of tonsuring in honour of St. John.

#### NOTE B.

##### *The Legend of St. John and the poisoned cup.*

The following is the Legend of St. John and the poisoned cup, as it is given in the "*Historia certaminis Apostolici*" of the Pseudo-Abdias. The text is taken from the ancient MS. of this work, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin<sup>e</sup>, collated with the printed text of Abdias, as given by Fabricius, and also with that of the "*Passio S. Johannis Evangelistæ*" by the Pseudo-Mellitus<sup>f</sup>, as published by the same author: the readings of Abdias, in the edition of Fabricius, will be denoted by the letter A, those of Mellitus, by M.

The history of St. John is the fifth book of the work of Abdias, and the following story is the eighth section or chapter in the MS., the nineteenth in the edition of Fabricius (*Cod. Apoc. N. Test.* ii., p. 573). The "*Passio S. Joannis Evangelistæ*," by Mellitus, was printed by Franciscus Maria Florentinius, *Martyrol. S. Hieronymi*, p. 130, and reprinted by Fabricius (*Op. cit.* iii., p. 604).

.viii. Cum autem<sup>g</sup> omnis ciuitas ephesiorum, immo omnis provincia asiæ iohannem excolereth<sup>h</sup> et predicaret, accidit ut cultores idolorum, exitarent seditionem. Unde factum est ut iohannem traherent ad tem-

<sup>d</sup> *Composition.*—Here the one word, *ὑέννα*, "of making, or composition" [*nom. ὑένnum*], is Irish, all the rest being Latin.

<sup>e</sup> *Dublin.*—See above, p. 266.

<sup>f</sup> *Mellitus.*—See p. 265-6, *supra*.

<sup>g</sup> *Cum autem.*—A. reads "Dum hæc fierent apud Ephesum et omnes indies magis magisque Asiæ provinciæ Joannem et excolerent et prædicarent, accidit," &c.

<sup>h</sup> *Excoleret.*—Excolerent et prædicarent, A. M.

plum dianæ, et urgerent eum ut ei foeditatem sacrificiorum offeret. Tunc<sup>1</sup> beatus iohannes ait; ducam<sup>1</sup> uos omnes ad<sup>k</sup> ecclesiam domini ihū xpī: et inuocantes<sup>1</sup> nomen eius, faciam cadere templum hoc, et comminui idolum uestrum. Quod cum<sup>m</sup> factum fuerit, iustum uobis<sup>n</sup> uideri debet: ut relicta superstitione eius rei, quæ a deo meo uicta est, et confracta: ad ipsum<sup>o</sup> conuertamini; Ad hanc uocem conticuit populus<sup>p</sup>: et licet essent pauci qui contradicerent huic diffinitioni: pars tamen maxima adsensum<sup>q</sup> adtribuit. Tunc beatus iohannes blandis alloquiis exhortabatur populum: ut a templo longe se facerent. Cumque uniuersi exteriore<sup>r</sup> parte foris exissent, uoce clara omnibus<sup>s</sup> dixit. Ut sciat omnis hæc turba quia idolum hoc dianæ uestre<sup>t</sup> demonium est et non deus, corruat cum omnibus manu factis idolis, quæ coluntur in eo: ita ut<sup>u</sup> nullam in hominibus lesionem faciat. Continuo ad hanc uocem apostoli omnia simul cum templo suo idola ita corruerunt ut efficerentur sicut puluis quem proiecit<sup>v</sup> uentus a facie terræ. Conuersi sunt<sup>w</sup> eadem die duodecim milia gentilium exceptis paruulis et mulieribus et baptismatis<sup>x</sup> sunt consecrati uirtute. Tunc aristodimus qui erat pontifex omnium<sup>y</sup> idolorum repletus spiritu nequissimo excitauit seditionem in populo ita ut populus contra populum pararetur in bellum. Sed beatus<sup>z</sup> iohannes ait; Dic mihi aristodime quid faciam ut tollam indignationem de animo tuo. Cui<sup>a</sup> aristodimus dixit<sup>b</sup>. Si uis ut credam deo tuo dabo tibi uenenum bibere; quod cum biberis si non fueris mortuus apparebit uerum esse deum tuum. Cui sanctus apostolus ait<sup>c</sup>. Venenum si dederis mihi bibere inuocato nomine domini mei non poterit nocere me<sup>d</sup>; Cui aristodimus<sup>e</sup> ait; Prius est ut uideas<sup>f</sup> bibentes et statim morientes ut uel sic possit cor tuum ab hoc poculo<sup>g</sup> formidare<sup>h</sup>. Cui<sup>i</sup> beatus iohannes respondit. Iam dixi tibi tu paratus esto credere in dominum<sup>j</sup> ihū xpī cum<sup>k</sup> me uideris post ueneni poculum sanum. Perrexit itaque aristodimus ad proconsulem: et petiit ab eo duos uiros, qui pro suis erant sceleribus decollandi<sup>l</sup>; et statuens<sup>m</sup> eos in medio foro, coram omni<sup>n</sup> populo in

<sup>1</sup> Tunc.—Inter hæc, A.

<sup>1</sup> Ducam.—Ducamus omnes eos, A.

<sup>k</sup> Ad.—In ecclesia Domini mei, M.

<sup>1</sup> Et inuocantes.—Et inuocantes nomen Dianæ uestre facite cadere ecclesiam ejus, et consentiam uobis. Si autem hoc facere non potestis, ego inuoco nomen Domini mei Jesu Christi, et faciam, &c., M. Et cum inuocaveritis, A.

<sup>m</sup> Cum.—Ubi, A. Cum fuerit (omitting factum), M.

<sup>n</sup> Nobis.—Nobis, A.

<sup>o</sup> Ad ipsum.—Ad id ipsum, A.

<sup>p</sup> Populus.—Omnis populus, M.

<sup>q</sup> Adsensum.—Consensum, A. M.

<sup>r</sup> Exteriore.—Et interiore, M.

<sup>s</sup> Omnibus.—Voce clara clamauit, A. Voce clara coram omnibus dixit, M.

<sup>t</sup> Vestræ.—Omit, M.

<sup>u</sup> Ita ut.—Ita tamen ut, A.

<sup>v</sup> Proiecit.—Projectit, A.

<sup>w</sup> Conuersi sunt.—Conuersi sunt autem eo die, M. Itaque conuersa sunt eadem die, A.

<sup>x</sup> Baptismatis.—Et baptizati sunt consecrati vir-

tute, M. Et baptizati sunt a beato Joanne et uirtute consecrati, A.

<sup>y</sup> Omnium.—Omit, M. Quæ cum animadverteret Aristodemus, qui erat Pontifex omnium illorum idolorum, A.

<sup>z</sup> Sed beatus . . . ait.—Ad quem conuersus Joannes, Dic mihi Aristodime (inquit), A.

<sup>a</sup> Cui.—Omit, M.

<sup>b</sup> Dixit.—Omit, A.

<sup>c</sup> Ait.—Cui apostolus ait, M. Respondit Apostolus, A.

<sup>d</sup> Nocere me.—Nocere non poterit, A. Non poterit nocere mihi, M.

<sup>e</sup> Aristodimus.—Cui rursus Aristodemus, A.

<sup>f</sup> Ut uideas.—Volo ut prius uideas, A.

<sup>g</sup> Poculo.—Periculo, M.

<sup>h</sup> Formidare.—Abhorre, A.

<sup>i</sup> Cui.—Ad quem beatus Joannes, jam antea dixi tibi, quia paratus sum bibere ut credas, A.

<sup>j</sup> In dominum.—In Dominum meum, M.

<sup>k</sup> Cum.—Dum, M.

<sup>l</sup> Decollandi.—De quibus debebat ultimum supplicium sumi, A.

conspectu apostoli<sup>o</sup> fecit eos bibere uenenum: qui mox ut biberent<sup>o</sup> spiritum exalauerunt. Tunc dicit aristodimus Audi me<sup>o</sup> iohannes: et<sup>l</sup> aut recede ab ista doctrina qua deorum<sup>a</sup> cultura reuocasti<sup>v</sup> populum, aut accipe et bibe: ut ostendes<sup>o</sup> omnipotentem esse deum tuum si postea quam biberis, potueris incolumis permanere. Tunc beatus iohannes iacentibus mortuis his qui uenenum biberant intrepidus<sup>s</sup> et constans accepit calicem et signaculum crucis faciens in eo<sup>r</sup> dixit. Deus meus<sup>r</sup> et pater domini mei<sup>s</sup> ihu xpi cuius uerbo caeli firmati sunt, cui omnia subiecta sunt, cui omnis creatura deseruit et omnis potestas subiecta est et metuit<sup>b</sup> et expauescit. Cum<sup>c</sup> nos te ad auxilium inuocamus, cuius audito nomine serpens conquescit. Draco fugit, silet uipera, et rubeta illa quæ dicitur rana inquietæ<sup>d</sup> [sic] torpescit, scorpius<sup>e</sup> extinguitur, regulus uincitur, et sphalangius<sup>f</sup> nihil noxium operatur, et<sup>g</sup> omnia uenenata<sup>h</sup> et adhuc ferociora repentia et animalia noxia te reuerentur<sup>i</sup> et omnes<sup>j</sup> aduersæ salutis humanæ radices arescunt. Tu<sup>k</sup> extingue hoc uenenosum<sup>l</sup> uirus, extingue operationes eius<sup>m</sup> mortíferas et uires quas in se habet euacua, et da<sup>n</sup> in conspectu tuo<sup>o</sup> omnibus his quos tu creasti oculos ut uideant, aures ut audiant<sup>p</sup> et cor ut magnitudinem tuam intellegant, et cum hoc dixisset, os suum et totum semetipsum armavit<sup>q</sup> signo crucis et bibit totum quod erat in calice et postea quam bibit dixit. Peto ut propter quos bibi conuertantur ad te domine et salutem quam<sup>r</sup> [sic] te est te inluminante mereantur. Attendente autem<sup>s</sup> populo iohannem per tres horas uultum habere hilarem et nulla penitus signa palloris aut trepidationis habentem clamare coeperunt<sup>t</sup>. Vnus deus uerus est quem colit iohannes. Aristodimus autem<sup>u</sup> nec sic credebat sed populos objurgabat eum; Ille autem conuersus

<sup>o</sup> *Et statuens.*—Quos cum statuisset, A.

<sup>a</sup> *Omni.*—Omit, M.

<sup>o</sup> *In conspectu Apostoli.*—Omit, M. Aspiciente Apostolo, A.

<sup>v</sup> *Biberent.*—Qui mox biberunt, M. Qui mox ut biberunt, A.

<sup>r</sup> *Exalauerunt.*—Exhalarunt, M.

<sup>r</sup> *Tunc dicit.*—Tunc dixit, M. Tunc conuersus ad Joannem Aristodemus: Audi me (inquit) et recede, A.

<sup>s</sup> *Me.*—Omit, M.

<sup>l</sup> *Et.*—Omit, M.

<sup>a</sup> *Qua deorum.*—The MS. at first had *qua eorum*, but a later hand has inserted *d.* Qua a deorum, A. M.

<sup>v</sup> *Reuocasti.*—Revocas, A.

<sup>o</sup> *Ostendes.*—Ostendas, A. M.

<sup>s</sup> *Intrepidus.*—Ut intrepidus, A.

<sup>r</sup> *In eo.*—Omit, A.

<sup>r</sup> *Deus meus.*—Deus meus Pater et Filius et Spiritus sanctus cui omnia subiecta sunt, M.

<sup>a</sup> *Mci.*—Nostri, A.

<sup>b</sup> *Et metuit.*—Quem et metuit, A.

<sup>c</sup> *Cum.*—Itaque, A.

<sup>d</sup> *Inquietæ.*—Inquieta, A. Quieta, M.

<sup>e</sup> *Scorpius.*—Et scorpius, M.

<sup>f</sup> *Sphalangius.*—Phalangius, A. M.

<sup>g</sup> *Et.*—Denique, M.

<sup>h</sup> *Venenata.*—Venena, A.

<sup>i</sup> *Reuerentur.*—This word is inserted over an erasure, by a hand of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The original reading of this MS. was probably *tenebrantur*, as in the *Liber Hymnorum* and M., or *terabrantur*, as in A.

<sup>j</sup> *Et omnes.*—This clause to “arescunt” is omitted in A.

<sup>k</sup> *Tu.*—Tu inquam ille, A.

<sup>l</sup> *Venenosum.*—Venenum, M.

<sup>m</sup> *Ejus.*—Omit, M.

<sup>n</sup> *Et da.*—Omit, M.

<sup>o</sup> *Tuo.*—Omit, M.

<sup>p</sup> *Audiant.*—M. omits “aures ut audiant.”

<sup>q</sup> *Armavit.*—Et cum hæc dixisset, os suum et totum semetipsum armavit, &c., A. Et cum dixisset totum semetipsum ornauit signo crucis, et bibit omne quod erat in calice, M.

<sup>r</sup> *Quam.*—Quæ, A. M.

<sup>s</sup> *Autem.*—Omit, A. Attendentes autem populi, M.

<sup>t</sup> *Coeperunt.*—Voce magna coepit, A.

<sup>u</sup> *Autem.*—Tamen ne sic quidem credebat populo objurgante hunc, A.

ad iohannem dixit, inest<sup>v</sup> mihi adhuc dubietas<sup>w</sup>, sed si istos qui hoc ueneno<sup>x</sup> mortui sunt in nomine dei tui excitaueris emundabitur ab omni dubietate<sup>y</sup> meus mea; Populi<sup>z</sup> autem insurgabant in aristodimum dicentes; incedimus et te et domum tuam si ausus fueris ultra apostolum<sup>a</sup> tuo sermone fatigare; Videns autem iohannes acerrime seditionem fieri petiit silentium et<sup>b</sup> omnibus audientibus ait; Prima est quam de virtutibus diuinis imitari<sup>c</sup> debemus patientia, per quam ferre possumus incredulorum insipientiam; unde si adhuc aristodimus ab infidelitate tenetur, soluamus nodos infidelitatis eius et licet tarde faciamus<sup>d</sup> eum agnoscere creatorem suum; Non enim cessabo ab hoc opere quo medella<sup>e</sup> citius possit eius uulneribus prouenire<sup>f</sup>; et sicut medici habentes inter manus aegrum medella<sup>g</sup> indigentem, ita etiam nos si adhuc curatus non est<sup>h</sup> de eo quod factum est; Et conuocans ad se aristodimum dedit ei tunicam suam, ipse uero pallio amictus coepit stare; Cui ait aristodimus ut quid dedisti mihi tunicam tuam; Dicit ei iohannes; ut uel sic confusus a tua infidelitate credas<sup>i</sup>; Cui aristodimus ait, et quomodo me tunica tua faciet<sup>j</sup> ab infidelitate recedere. Cui respondit apostolus. Uade et mitte eam super corpora defunctorum et dices ita; Apostolus domini mei<sup>k</sup> ihu xpi misit me ut in eius nomine exurgatis ut cognoscant omnes<sup>l</sup> quia uita et mors famulantur domino meo ihu xpo. Quod cum fecisset aristodimus et uidisset eos exurgere adorans iohannem festinus perrexit ad proconsulem, &c.

It is unnecessary to transcribe more of this story, as we have here all of it that is required for the illustration of our Irish Scholiast, proving that the Abbian or Mellitan Legends must have been the authority from which he derived his materials. It will be seen that the text of Mellitus agrees more nearly with that of the ancient Dublin MS. of Abdias than with the text printed by Fabricius; but it is certain that they are in reality, so far as this Legend is concerned, the same, and not two different works.

<sup>v</sup> *Inest*.—Deest mihi adhuc hoc unum, quod si istos, A.

<sup>w</sup> *Dubietas*.—Dubitatio, M.

<sup>x</sup> *Hoc veneno*.—Per hoc venenum, M.

<sup>y</sup> *Dubietate*.—Incredulitate, M. Dubio, A.

<sup>z</sup> *Populi*.—Quæ cum dixisset, plebs insurgabat in Aristodemum dicens, A.

<sup>a</sup> *Apostolorum*.—Incendimus te et domum tuam si ausus fueris ultra Apostolum Dei in tuo sermone facere laborare, M. Incendemus te et domum tuam si pergas ulterius apostolum sermonibus tuis fatigare, A.

<sup>b</sup> *Et*.—M. omits "petiit silentium et."

<sup>c</sup> *Imitari*.—Prima est de virtutibus Diuinis quam videmur imitari patientiam, M.

<sup>d</sup> *Faciamus*.—Faciamus tamen eum, M. Soluamus nodos infidelitatis ejus. Cogetur, quantumvis sero, agnoscere, A.

<sup>e</sup> *Medella*.—Sic a prima manu: but the first *l* has been erased by a later hand. The same is the case wherever this word occurs.

<sup>f</sup> *Provenire*.—Non enim cessabo hoc opere, quomodo ejus possit vulneribus provenire, M. Non enim cessabo ab hoc opere donec medela ejus possit vulneribus opitulari, A.

<sup>g</sup> *Medella*.—Varia medela, M.

<sup>h</sup> *Non est*.—Non est Aristodemus his quæ facta modo sunt, curabitur illis quæ jam faciam, A. Non est, ideoque quod factum non est aliud faciamus, M.

<sup>i</sup> *Credas*.—This word has been altered by a more recent hand to *recedas* (as in A): the *c* being erased and *ce* inserted. Discedas, M.

<sup>j</sup> *Faciet*.—Facit, M.

<sup>k</sup> *Mei*.—Nostri, A. M.

<sup>l</sup> *Omnes*.—Ut in nomine Dei ejus surgatis et cognoscaut homines, &c., M.

There is nothing, however, either in Mellitus or in Abdias to correspond with the concluding paragraph of the Irish preface, where we read of a holy youth elected annually from the people of Ephesus, who (if our conjectural reading of the concluding very obscure words be correct) was to be tonsured in honour of St. John. The Editor has been unable to find anything like this in any other authority.



## XVIII. THE EPISTLE OF CHRIST TO ABGARUS, KING OF EDESSA.

THIS celebrated Epistle, together with the Letter of Abgarus to Christ, to which it professes to be a reply, was first made known to the Church by Eusebius, the great ecclesiastical historian of the fourth century. He tells us expressly that he had them from the records of Edessa, the city of which Abgarus<sup>1</sup> was the "toparch" or governor; and that down to his own time the documents were preserved amongst the antiquarian muniments of Edessa. He states also that the original letters were written in Syriac, and that he had introduced them into his History, translated from the originals into Greek<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Abgarus*.—Written *Abagarus* by Rufinus, and in the supposed Decree of Gelasius. Eusebius and others spell the name *Agbarus*; and it is remarkable that (at least in Valesius's edition of Eusebius) the name is spelled *Agbarus*, everywhere except in the Epistles themselves, where we have *Abgarus*. Valesius prefers the former spelling, because the word *Akbar* in Arabic signifies *powerful, great* (Heb. גבר), and the name is said to have been common to all the reguli of Edessa, as Pharaoh to the Kings of Egypt. But in the Syriac Chronicle of Bar Hebraeus, the name is always *Abgar*, which Bernstein, in his Syriac Lexicon, derives from the Armenian *Avag-air* (primarius, insignis), an etymology much more probable, considering the geographical position of Edessa, than the derivation from Arabic. The idea of a correspondence between our Lord and Ab-

garus, may have been suggested by Matt. iv. 24,—“And his fame went through all Syria.”

But on the whole of this history, and on the name, see Theoph. Siegf. Bayer, *Historia Osrhoena et Edessena, ex numis illustrata*, lib. ii. p. 73, sq., lib. iii. p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> *Greek*.—The following are the words of Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. i. c. 13:—“Ἐχεις καὶ τούτων ἀνάγραφτον τὴν μαρτυρίαν, ἐκ τῶν κατὰ Ἑδίσσαν το τηνικαῦτα βασιλευομένων πόλιν γραμματοφυλακείων ληφθείσαν. ἐν γοῦν τοῖς αὐτόθι δημοσίοις χάρταις, τοῖς τὰ παλαιὰ καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀγβαρον πραχθέντα περιέχουσι, καὶ ταῦτα εἴσεται καὶ νῦν ἐξ ἐκείνου πεφυλαγμένα εὔρηται. οὐδὲν δὲ οἶον καὶ αὐτῶν ἐπακοῦσαι τῶν ἐπιστολῶν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἡμῖν ἀναληφθεῖσων, καὶ τὸν ἐς αὐτοῖς ῥημασιν ἐκ τῆς Σόρων φωνῆς μεταβληθεῖσων τὸν τρόπον. Then follows the Epistle itself.”

It is unnecessary for the purposes of the present work to enter at length into the question of the authenticity or genuineness of the Epistles. That Eusebius believed<sup>1</sup> in them, and that they were received as genuine in the East for some time, are facts not to be doubted. But it is evident that neither St. Jerome nor St. Augustine had any faith in their authenticity. On the contrary, both those Fathers declare expressly that our blessed Lord left nothing of His own writing<sup>2</sup>. They are not mentioned by St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, or any of the Fathers of the two centuries after Eusebius.

In modern times, however, eminent names are to be found on both sides of the controversy. Amongst the divines of the Church of England—Bishop Montague, Grabe, and Cave; amongst those of the Church of Rome—Baronius, Schelstraet, Tillemont, Asseman, and others, have advocated the genuineness, or probable genuineness, of the Epistles. On the other side are Bellarmin, Natalis Alexander, Erasmus, Melchior Canus, Simon, J. A. Fabricius, Ceillier, and many others<sup>3</sup>.

The Epistles are condemned in the celebrated Decree usually attributed to Pope Gelasius, and published in the collections of Councils as part of the Acts

<sup>1</sup> *Believed*.—See his *Ecl. Hist.*, ii. c. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Of His own writing*.—So St. Jerome in *Ezek.* xlv. 29, 30. “Salvator nullam volumen doctrinæ suæ proprium dereliquit, quod in plerisque apocryphorum deliramenta confingunt, sed Patris et suo Spiritu quotidie loquitur in corde credentium.” This testimony is the stronger, because it shows that he was aware of the existence of apocryphal writings attributed to our Lord. And so also St. Augustine, in a passage where he seems almost to allude to this very Epistle to Abgarus:—“Si enim prolatae fuerint aliquæ literæ, quæ nullo alio narrante ipsius Christi esse dicantur; unde fieri poterat ut si vere ipsius essent, non legerentur, non acciperentur, non præcipuo culmine auctoritatis emerent in ejus ecclesia, quæ ab ipso per apostolos, succedentibus sibi met episcopis, usque ad hæc tempora propagata dilatatur; etc.”—*Contra Faustum*, lib.

xxviii. c. 4 (*Ed. Bened.*, tom. viii., 439); and this is indeed an argument against the genuineness of the Epistle which seems very difficult to answer.

<sup>3</sup> *Many others*.—An excellent summary of the literature of the Epistles, with references to the authorities on both sides, will be found in the learned work of the Rev. Richard Gibbings, entitled “Roman Forgeries and Falsifications,” although, how these Epistles came to be Roman forgeries, he does not explain. The reader will find almost everything in Fabricius, *Cod. Apoc. Novi Test.*, tom. i., p. 316\*, and in Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs Eccl.*, tom. i., p. 474, sq.; add also Carpzov. *Comment. Critica in libros N. Test.*, § xix. *Lips.* 1730; Cave, *Hist. Liter.*, tom. i., p. 2, sq. (*Oxon.* 1740); and Lardner, *Heathen Testimonies*, ch. i. (Works by Dr. Kippis, vol. vi. p. 596.)

of a Synod<sup>1</sup> of seventy Bishops held at Rome, A. D. 494 or 496. Here we read, "Epistola Jesu ad Abagarum regem apocrypha. Epistola Abagari<sup>2</sup> ad Jesum apocrypha."

From this it appears that if the Decree of Gelasius be a genuine Decree of that Pope, it was probably unknown, or at least not received<sup>3</sup>, in the Church of Ireland, when the MS. of the *Liber Hymnorum* was written. For the *Epistola Jesu* is manifestly assumed to be genuine, and was apparently read, as a Lesson, in the Irish Church in some office of public or private devotion. This, it need scarcely be observed, did not imply the reception of the Epistle as Canonical Scripture, but such use of it was clearly inconsistent with the Gelasian decree, where the condemnation of the document as *Apocryphal* must have signified a prohibition. When such eminent modern scholars, however,

<sup>1</sup> *Synod*.—Pagi gives 496 as the date of this Synod, *Crit. in Ann. Baronii*. There is, however, much doubt as to the antiquity of the Acts of this Council, and even as to the name of the Pope by whose Decree the Apocryphal books were condemned: some copies attributing it to Pope Damasus, others to Hormisdas, but the majority to Gelasius. Even the text of the Decree is unsettled, and has been largely interpolated.

<sup>2</sup> *Abagari*.—Some copies omit the words "Epistola Abgari ad Jesum apocrypha." This omission occurs in the *Decretum Gratiani*, Dist. xv c.; *Sancta Romana Ecclesia*; and in Ivo, *Liber Decret.*: but in the Collections of the Councils both clauses will be found.

<sup>3</sup> *Received*.—On the date and genuineness of the supposed Decree of Gelasius, see Bp. Pearson's *Vindiciæ Epist. S. Ignatii*, Part I., c. iv. p. 44 (4<sup>o</sup>, Cantabr. 1672), where the whole question is discussed. A good summary of the arguments against the Decree is given by Cave, *Hist. Liter.*, tom. i. p. 463 (*Oxon.* 1740), who says that it is not alluded to by any author before the year 840. Mr. Gibbings, however, has found a reference to

it in the *Opus Caroli Magni contra Synodum pro adorandis imaginibus*, written about 790. (*Roman Forg.*, p. 4.) Ceiller (*Hist. des Auteurs Eccl.*, tom. xv., p. 630, *sq.*) admits that the Gelasian Decree must have been interpolated, although he inclines to believe it on the whole genuine, and says that it is cited under the title of *Gelasii Papæ de Libris recipiendis et non recipiendis*, "dans une acte de l'Abbaye de saint Riquier en 432." This date, however, is a mistake, and ought to be 831. For the document referred to (which occurs in the *Chron. Centulense*, sive *S. Richarii*, lib. iii. cap. 3), is an inventory of the goods and chattels of the monastery, including its books, drawn up, as the author tells us, "Anno Incarnationis Domini DCCCXXXI. Indictione ix.," by order of the Emperor "Illudovicus" (i.e. Louis le Débonnaire), and in the eighteenth year of his reign: *Dacherii Spicil.* ii., p. 310 (fol. edit.). In this catalogue of the books of the monastery there occurs, under the heading *De Canonibus*, a copy of "Gelasii Papæ de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis." So that there is really no evidence that this celebrated Decree had any existence before the latter part of the eighth century. And it is

as Tillemont and Asseman, Cave and Grabe, have judged favourably, or hesitated, at least, to pronounce the Epistle a forgery, we may well excuse the Irish Churchmen, of an age eminently uncritical, for having adopted the *Epistola Jesu* without questioning the authority of Eusebius.

The following is a translation of the Preface or Scholium prefixed to the Hymn, which, as usual in this collection, is written partly in Irish, partly in Latin:—

*Beatus es et reliqua.* Christ himself wrote with His own hand this Epistle, as Eusebius relates in his History. And it was at Jerusalem it was written; in the time of Tiberius Cæsar it was written. And this was the cause [of writing it]; Abgarus, the Toparch, King of the land of Armenia, and of the land to the north of the River Euphrates, was in severe sickness in the city of Edessa, so that an epistle was brought from him to Christ, *requesting* that He would

remarkable that Pope Adrian I., in his letter to Charlemagne, in defence of the second Council of Nice against the objections of the Gallican bishops, assumes the truth of the story (which was assumed also in the Council), that our Lord had written to Abgarus, and quotes the authority of his predecessor, Pope Stephen, who (in answer to the objection, “*Quod nulla evangelii lectio tradat Jesum ad Abagarum imaginem misisse*”) had said “*Sed, nec illud est prætereundum, quod relatione fidelium de partibus orientis advenientium, sæpe cognovimus. In quibus licet evangelium sileat, tamen nequaquam in omnibus incredibile fidei meritum: et hoc asserente de ipso evangelista: Multa quidem et alia signa fecit Jesus, quæ non sunt scripta in libro hoc.*” Denique fertur ab asserentibus quod Redemptor humani generis, appropinquante die passionis, cuidam regi Edessenæ civitatis, desideranti corporaliter illam cernere, et ut persecutiones Judæorum fugeret ad illum convocare, ut auditas miraculorum opiniones, et sanitarum curationes illi et populo suo impertiret, respondisset: Quod si faciem meam corporaliter cernere cupis, en tibi vultus mei speciem transformatam in linteo dirigo: per quam et

desiderii tui fervorem refrigeres, et quod de me audisti impossibile nequaquam fieri existimes. Postquam tamen complevero ea quæ de me scripta sunt, dirigam tibi unum de discipulis meis, qui tibi et populo tuo sanitates impertiat et ad sublimitatem fidei vos perducatur, &c.” —Hardouin, *Concil.* tom. iv., p. 782. Here we have the authority of two Popes, sanctioning the Epistle with an interpolation which is not in the copy given by Eusebius, and which, we may observe, does not occur in the Irish Book of Hymns. But it is remarkable that this letter of Adrian to Charlemagne, which assumes the genuineness of our Lord’s Epistle to Abgarus, was written (A. D. 792) in reply to that very *Opus Caroli magni*, of 790, in which the Decree of Gelasius, condemning the Epistles, was referred to. See Richard, *Analyse des Conciles*, tom. i., p. 739 (Paris, 1772. 4<sup>o</sup>). Ceillier, *Hist. des Auteurs Eccles.* xviii. p. 230, 231. It is clear, therefore, that Pope Adrian I. cannot have regarded the Gelasian “*Libellus*” as genuine, for he passes it over in entire silence; and the same remark will apply to the second Council of Nice. There is, therefore, some confusion about this matter, which needs further research.



come to cure him: for he had heard that He was the Son of God, and that He had cured many. So that it was in praise of the faith of Abgarus, that Christ composed this Epistle. And this Epistle is in the city of Edisa.

In which city no heretic can live, no Jew, no worshipper of idols. Nor have barbarians ever been able to assail it, from the time when Evagarus, King of the said city, received the Epistle written by the Saviour's hand. In fine, a baptized infant, standing upon the gate and wall of the city, reads this Epistle. If ever a people should come against that city, on the day in which that Epistle, written by the hand of the Saviour, is read, those barbarians are brought to make peace, or are put to flight, routed.

The latter half of this Preface, from the words "In which city no heretic can live," &c., to the end, is in Latin; and is probably an extract from some ancient legend; in it the name of the king is written *Evagarus*, instead of *Abgarus*, which may indicate a different source. It is remarkable that no allusion is made to the miraculous image or picture of our Lord, so celebrated in the history of Edessa, although it is mentioned by Evagrius<sup>1</sup>, whose Ecclesiastical History was compiled in the latter part of the sixth century.

This may be regarded as evidence that the Irish Preface was compiled from traditions of some antiquity. But, on the other hand, the privileges of Edessa, stated by our Scholiast as resulting from the possession of the autograph letter of our Lord, exhibit marks of more modern interpolation. Evagrius, indeed, mentions the general belief (*τὰ παρὰ τοῖς πιστοῖς θρυλούμενα*) that Edessa could never be taken by an enemy,—although he acknowledges that this was not said in the Epistle of Christ to Abgarus; but he seems to have known nothing of the belief that no Jew, or heretic, or infidel, could live in the city, or that a baptized child<sup>2</sup>, standing on the walls of the city, was wont to read the Epistle, although

<sup>1</sup> *Evagrius*.—Hist. Eccles., lib. iv., c. 27. *Φέρουσι τὴν Θεοῦ τεκτον εἰκόνα ἣν ἀνθρώπων μὲν χεῖρες οὐκ εἰργάσαντο· Ἀγβάργῳ δὲ Χριστὸς ὁ Θεὸς, ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν ἐπόθει, πέπομφε.*

<sup>2</sup> *Child*.—John of Ypra, in his Chronicle of the Monastery of St. Bertin, gives the correspondence of our Lord with Abgarus (cap. 43, part. iii.), and adds: "Post ascensionem vero Domini Thaddæus apostolus ad Abagarum missus, ipsum cum toto populo suo baptizavit, et eum a languore solo verbo curavit, juxta Christi promissum, civitatemque sic assecura-

vit, quod si quis adversarius ad illam lædendam venisset, cives infantem super portam civitatis afferebant, et Salvatoris epistolam sibi porrigebant, qui licet alias fari nescius, epistolam prompte legit, et mox inimici recesserunt: quod quidem miraculum toto Abagari et longo post hoc tempore duravit."—*Joh. Iperii, Chron. S. Bertini* (apud Martene et Durand. *Thesaur. Novus Anecd.*, tom. iii., p. 642, A). John of Ypra died A. D. 1383. See also Gilo Parisiensis, *De expeditione Hierosol.*, lib. iii. (ibid. p. 231, A), who, speak-



otherwise unable to read, or even to speak, (for that seems to be the meaning,) or that a special blessing was attached to the reading or recitation of the Epistle.

The testimony of Evagrius, that no promise of perpetual security from hostile aggression was contained in the Epistle of Christ, did not prevent the interpolation of such a promise in subsequent editions of the Epistle: for example, in that given by Constantine Porphyrogenneta, in the *Narratio de Edessena Christi Imagine*, a promise is added at the end of the Epistle, that Edessa shall never be taken by its enemies; καὶ τῇ πόλει σου γενήσεται τὸ ἱκανὸν πρὸς τὸ μηδένα τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατασχύσαι αὐτῆς. And yet the Epistle seems to have contained this clause, or some equivalent clause, in the age of St. Augustine: for the Count Darius, in a letter<sup>2</sup> in which (if its text be not interpolated) he asks Augustine for a copy of the *Confessions*, enforces his request by the example of Christ, who condescended to give a favourable reply to the petition of Abgarus, "preces supplicis non dedignaretur,"—and even granted more than He

ing of Edessa, and of the Epistle of Christ, says:

"Hæc ibi temporibus permansit epistola multis,  
Atque ea ab adversis tutavit mœnia cunctis,  
Nam si barbaricus furor illuc perveniebat,  
Baptizatus eam puer alta ex arce legebat," etc.

<sup>1</sup> *Narratio*.—Published by Combefis, *Maipul. originum rerumq. C. politanarum*, p. 81, quoted by Fabricius, *ubi supr.*, p. 319.

<sup>2</sup> *Letter*.—Epist. 230 (Ed. Bened.), 263 (Ed. Lovan.). "Fertur satrapæ, seu regis potius ejusdam epistola," &c. This Epistle was unknown to Possidius, and appeared first in the Louvain edit. of St. Augustine's works. How far the allusion to the promise, which it distinctly states was made by our Lord to Edessa, "per epistolam," should militate against the genuineness of the letter attributed to Darius, cannot be discussed here. It is certain, from the testimony of Evagrius, that at the end of the sixth century the "Epistola Jesu" contained no such promise; and the answer (Ep. 231), which seems not unworthy of St. Augustine, contains no allu-

sion to the use which Darius made of our Lord's supposed Letter to Abgarus; but simply says, "Misi et alios libros quos non petisti, ne hoc tantummodo facerem quod petisti." This suggests the suspicion that the argument from our Lord's condescension to Abgarus may have been introduced into the letter of Darius, by some later copyist. It occupies a section by itself, and its omission would make no perceptible hiatus in the Epistle.—Ceillier (*Hist. des Auteurs Eccles.*, tom. xi., p. 332) says that Darius spoke of the Letter of Abgarus, and of our Lord's reply, in such a manner as to show that he doubted the authenticity of both: "d'une maniere qui fait voir qu'il doutoit de l'autenticité de l'une et de l'autre." This opinion seems to be founded upon the words *fertur*, and "Laudasse insuper suam *dicitur* civitatem." Baronius draws the opposite inference, that the Epistles were received as genuine: "Eas vero *absque aliquâ dubitatione* ab antiquioribus fuisse receptas, testatur epistola Darii comitis ad S. Augustinum scripta."—*Annal.*, A.D. 31, n. 60.

was asked,—by promising that the city of Abgarus should have perpetual security from its enemies—“et amplificato petitionis munere, per epistolam non modo salutem ut supplici, sed etiam securitatem ut regi, transmisit; *jussit insuper ejus urbem ab hostibus in perpetuum esse ac semper immunem.*”

All this tends to show that a belief in the authenticity of our Lord's correspondence with Abgarus was of great antiquity, and that legends founded upon that belief had begun to be invented at an early period. And the omission of all allusion to the Edessan image, or picture, in the Scholiast's preface, may be taken as evidence that the Irish Church had probably received the *Epistola Jesu* from a very ancient source; for this connexion of it with the picture of our Lord was one of the circumstances that gave celebrity to the Epistle, and caused it to be quoted against the iconoclasts in the second Council of Nicæa.

The Latin Version of the Epistle contained in the Irish Liber Hymnorum, and now published, appears to have been derived from the translation of Eusebius<sup>1</sup> by Ruffinus; it has been collated with a printed copy of Ruffinus without date, but published early in the sixteenth century under the title of “*Hystoria Ecclesiastica*,” with the following colophon, “*Venundantur Parisiis a Francisco Regnault, in vico Sancti Jacobi sub signo divi Claudii.*” The readings of this copy are distinguished in the Notes by the letter R.

<sup>1</sup> *Eusebius*.—Since the foregoing remarks were written, the posthumous work of the late Rev. Dr. W. Cureton has appeared, entitled “*Ancient Syriac Documents relative to the earliest establishment of Christianity in Edessa and the neighbouring countries.*” Amongst these “Documents” the Epistle to Abgarus is given from a very antient Syriac version of

the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius. The editor, Dr. William Wright, of the British Museum, states in his Preface, that Dr. Cureton was a believer in the authenticity of the Abgaran Epistles; and his name must therefore be added to the list of those divines of the Church of England who have held that opinion.



factus es qui me non uidisti et credidisti in  
me. scriptum est enim de me, quia hi qui uident  
me non credunt. et qui me non uident ipsi in  
me credunt et uiuent. de eo haec quod scrip-  
sisti mihi ut uenirem ad te. oportet me omnia

GLOSS.—1. *Qui*.—i. abgare. 2. *Scriptum est*.—i. in essaia profeta. *De me*.—i. de christo. *Hi*.—i. iudei. *Vident*.—i. corpore. 3. *Credent*.—i. spiritu. *Et qui*.—i. gentes. *Non vident*.—i. corporaliter. 4. *Credent*.—i. spiritualiter. *Uident*.—i. in perpetuum. *De eo*.—i. subintellige respondeo, vel dico. 5. *Scriptisti*.—i. in tua epistola. *Ad te*.—i. ad edissam. *Oportet*.—i. hec est responsio i. oportet me facere omnia [quae] promissa sunt de me a prophetis.

1. *In me*.—Qui credidisti in me cum me ipse non videris, R.

2. *Scriptum est.*—Is. vi. 9, Matt. xiii. 13.

3. *Credent*.—Quia hi qui me vident non credent in me, R. This is generally supposed to be an allusion to S. John, xx. 29; but Fabricius thinks Is. vi. 9, and lii. 15, much more probably the passages referred to. *Cod. Apocr. N. T.*, p. 318. This is confirmed by the gloss, i. *in essaiâ profeta. Ipsi in me*.—Et qui non vident me ipsi credent et vivent, R.

4. *Scriptisti*.—The Epistle of Abgarus, as given by Eusebius, contained an invitation to our Lord to take refuge in Edessa from the persecution of the Jews; adding that the city, although small, was beautiful, and would be sufficient for both:—καὶ γὰρ ἤκουσα ὅτι καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι καταγογγύζουσά σου καὶ βούλονται κακῶσαι σέ. πόλις δὲ μικροτάτη μοι ἵστί καὶ σμηνή, ἥτις ἐξαρκεῖ ἀμφοτέροις.—Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. i. c. 13.

5. *Venirem.*—*Veniam*, R.

propter quæ misus sum hic explere. posteaquam compleu-  
ero recipi me ad eum a quo misus sum. cum ergo puero  
asumptus mittam tibi aliquem ex discipulis meis qui curet  
ægritudinem tuam et uitam tibi atque his qui tecum sunt  
prestat.

10

Domine Domine defende nos a malis et curtuu nos in bonis ut  
primus filii tui hic et in futuro, Amen. Saluatori omnium  
Christe perpece in nos ihesu et mireperpe nobis.

Gloss.—6. *Ille*.—i. in iudea vel in hierusalem, vel in hoc mundo. 7. *Compleuero*.—i. leges et profe-  
tias. 7. *Recipi me*.—i. in ascensionem. *Ad eum*.—i. ad patrem. *Misus*.—i. in humanitate, i. ad sal-  
uandum mundum. 8. *Asumptus*.—i. a patre in celum. *Mittam*.—i. ad te. *Tibi*.—i. abgare. *Ali-  
quem*.—i. tatheum. *Discipulis*.—i. ex apostolis. 9. *Tuam*.—i. abgare. *Uitam*.—i. perennem et doc-  
trinam et sanitatem. *Tecum sunt*.—i. in fide christiana.

6. *Posteaquam*.—Et posteaquam imple-  
vero, R.

7. *Ad eum*.—Ab eo, R. *Misus*.—The  
S. Isidore MS. reads *Missus*.

8. *Aliquem*.—The gloss says .i. *tatheum*.  
So the name Thaddæus is given in Ruffin's  
translation of Eusebius: in the original  
(*loc. cit.*) he is called Θαδδαῖον τὸν ἀπό-  
στολον ἕνα τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα. This cannot  
mean that Thaddæus, one of the 70, was  
also one of the Twelve Apostles, and Eu-  
sebius, therefore, must have called him an  
apostle in a secondary sense, as having been  
the Apostle of Edessa. He expressly dis-  
tinguishes him from the Twelve Apostles,  
but says that others were called Apostles,  
lib. i. c. 12. See Tillemont, *Mémoires*,  
tom. i., p. 360, and note 5, p. 613. St.  
Jerome (*in S. Matth.* c. x. 4) fell into  
the mistake of confounding this Thaddæus  
with the Apostle of the same name; and  
others have been led into the same error.  
Bede corrects it, *Retract.* in *Acta Apost.*,  
c. x. It is probable that the author of the  
gloss followed Jerome, when he interprets  
“ex discipulis” by “ex apostolis.” The

Hymn of St. Cummain Fota, line 23 (see  
above, p. 77), also follows Jerome. The  
Menology of the Greek Church identi-  
fies Thaddæus of Edessa with the Apostle  
Jude, or Thaddæus, the brother of our  
Lord: καὶ πρὸς Ἀνταρον τοπάρχην πορευ-  
θεὶς ἐθεράπευσεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς νόσου.—  
*Men. Græc.* ad 19 Jun. *Qui curet*.—Ut  
curet, R. Ut qui curat, S. Isidore MS.

9. *Ægritudinem*.—Abgarus in his Epistle  
had asked our Lord to come and heal him:  
“et ægritudinem meam, qua jamdiu la-  
boro, curare.”

10. *Prestet*.—The S. Isidore MS. adds  
here, “Salvus erit sicut scriptum est qui  
credit in me salvus erit.”

*Domine, Domine*.—The prayers which  
follow are in the angular character already  
frequently spoken of. They seem to show  
that this Letter to Abgarus was read in the  
ancient Irish Church as a Lesson in some  
office. In the upper margin of the MS.  
there are some sentences, which do not ap-  
pear to have had any connexion with the  
text. They have been greatly mutilated



Euangelium domini noṛṣṭi iheṣu chriṣṭi liberet noṛ, pṛoteḡat noṛ, eṣṭodiat noṛ, deṣendat noṛ, ab omni malo, ab omni periculo, ab omni langore, ab omni doloṛe, ab omni plaḡa, ab omni inuidia, ab omnibur inṛiṣur diabuli et malorum hominum hic et in puturo. Amen.

by the plough of the binder. The following words are all that are now legible:—  
 “custodis . . . . . nostram sicut de anima christiana dicitur. Omnis caro fenum est, et reliqua” [Is. xl. 6]. “Sed gloria eius filiae regis ab intus, nam extrinsecus maledicta et per . . . . . ntionēs et detractiones permittuntur de quibus tamen in celis merces aeterna est quae sentitur in corde patientium eorum qui iam possunt ut dicitur . . . glori . . . in tribulationibus. Hiṛ. illa maledictio beatitudinem creat.”  
 The word *Hiṛ.* is a contraction for *Hieronymus*; the passage alluded to occurs in S. Jerome’s Comment. on S. Matt. v. 11, “Illud maledictum contemnendum est quod beatitudinem creat, quod falso maledicentis ore profertur.”

After the foregoing sheets had been worked off, the writer had the privilege of visiting Rome, and was kindly permitted to collate the Donegal copy of the *Liber Hymnorum* in the Convent of S. Isidore, which is undoubtedly the MS. quoted by Colgan, and of which a full account will be found in the Appendix to this Fasciculus.

This MS. gives the concluding prayers or collects, after the Epistle, thus:—

“Domine, Domine, defende nos a malis et custodi nos in bonis, ut simus filii tui hic et in futuro, qui regnas in secula seculorum.

“Evangelium Domini nostri Jesu Christi liberet nos, protegat nos, custodiat nos, visitet nos, defendat nos, ab omni malo, ab omni plaga, ab omni langore, ab omni dolore, ab omni perturbatione, ab omni periculo, ab omni invidia, ab omnibus insidiis diaboli et malorum hominum hic et in futuro.”

The Irish Preface to the Epistle of Christ in the S. Isidore MS. is as follows: it is in some places illegible. The Editor has marked by dots the passages which he has been unable to decipher:—

beatur ep. iḥṣ xṣṛ fecit hanc epistolam. Dia paba pex eḡiṛae ciuitatir qui doloṛem peḡir habuit. Coṣucad epirṣil uad co epirṣe conḡiḡrat dia acallam ocup diaie. Ocup ue . . . . . tacheur ipin epirṣil doṛom iapceṛrad epirṣ. Ocup ippe . . . . . me. Ocup ataāt in eḡiṛa . . . . . . . . . . in epirṣil ḡ coṛop . . . . . cap mḡia co . . . . . daib opḡaib. Ocup . . . . . ḡ nachnepe teḡba biḡh ṣupe [rel ṣupe] nuape ipin . . . . . ṣṛim.

Which may be thus translated:

*Beatus es.* JESUS CHRIST made this epistle: for there was a king of the city of Edessa, who had a malady in the foot: and a letter was brought from him to Christ, requesting that He would come to converse with and heal him. And Thaddaeus . . . the epistle unto him after the crucifixion of Christ. And it was he . . . and they are in Edessa . . . the epistle was, and . . . and . . .

## XIX. THE HYMN OF ST. FIACC, IN PRAISE OF ST. PATRICK.

THIS Hymn was first printed by Colgan. He gives it in his *Trias Thaumaturga* under the title of "Hymnus, seu Vita Prima S. Patricii Hiberniæ Apostoli, S. Fieco Episcopo Sleptensi Authore,"—it having been regarded by him as the earliest of the seven Lives of St. Patrick which he had collected; although it was evidently never intended by its author as a "Life" properly so called, but only a Poetical Panegyric upon the Saint.

Colgan has published it in the original Irish, with a Latin translation in parallel columns; and, although subsequent editors have not scrupled to criticise and alter his translation, none of them has pretended to correct his text from any MS. authority, or suggested anything better than conjectural, and sometimes ignorant, emendations.

There is, therefore, in reality no existing printed text of this Hymn of any authority, except that published by Colgan, which was taken from his copy of the Book of Hymns<sup>1</sup> now preserved at the Franciscan College of S. Isidore, in Rome. Dr. O'Conor's edition<sup>2</sup> does not profess to have been collated with any other MS. of the original, and is, in fact, only a reprint of Colgan's text. The same remark will apply to the only other printed copy which has appeared with any pretensions to editorial scholarship, viz., that published by Henry Leo (*Halis Saxonum*, 1845), on the occasion of a declaration of successful competitors for Prizes "in certamine literario," proposed in honour of the birth day of Frederick William IV., King of Prussia. This work (which does not appear to have obtained a prize) is

<sup>1</sup> *Hymns*.—"Extat in pervetusto codice opusculorum aliquot sanctorum Hiberniæ (qui *Liber Hymnorum* inscribitur) ex quo ipsum desumpsimus."—*Tr. Thaum.*, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Edition*.—*Rer. Hib. Scriptt. Prolegom.*,

part i., p. 88, sq. O'Conor entitles this Hymn "Carmen vetus Hibernicum, quod Fieco. &c., tribuitur, . . . ex Codice vetustissimo Dungalense." The MS. at S. Isidore's is entitled in a hand of the seventeenth century, "Ex li-

entitled "Commentatio de Carmine vetusto Hibernico in S. Patricii laudem." It consists of a minute analysis of the original text, with a translation, in which the author does not display any exact acquaintance either with Irish grammar or with Irish history.

The other editions and attempted translations of the Hymn, which have appeared in this country, add nothing to the illustration of it, philologically or historically, and do not require any detailed notice<sup>1</sup>. They are all taken

bris de conventus [*sic*] de Dunnagall." This is on the lower margin of p. 3.

<sup>1</sup> *Notice*.—The following is a list of all these editions with which the editor is acquainted:—

1. Vallancey, in the first edition of his Irish Grammar (*Dublin*, 4<sup>o</sup>, 1773), has printed this Hymn (p. 166 sq.) with Colgan's Latin Translation. O'Reilly, in his account of Irish writers (*Trans. Ibero-Celtic Soc.*, p. xxxiii), says that this Hymn was printed "in the first edition of Vallancey's Irish Grammar, with a faulty English translation." But this English translation is not to be found in the copies of the first edition of Vallancey's Grammar which are now preserved in the public libraries of Dublin, nor has the Editor ever seen it; and there is reason to suspect that the sheets which contained it were cancelled by the author (after its errors were discovered), to make room for Colgan's Latin version. In the second edition of the Grammar, printed in 8vo, Vallancey has omitted Fiacc's Hymn altogether.

2. Mr. Patrick Lynch, in the Appendix to his *Life of St. Patrick* (*Dublin*, 1810, 8<sup>o</sup>), p. 328, has printed this Hymn in the original Irish, with an English translation of his own, and Colgan's Latin Version. Mr. O'Reilly (*loc. cit.*) calls this "a correct English translation;" but it is very far from being so.

3. The Rt. Rev. Dr. Coyle, a Roman Catholic bishop in Ireland, in a work called "The Pious Miscellany" (*Dublin*, 1831, 12<sup>o</sup>), of which the first vol. only was published, has printed St.

Fiacc's Hymn, in the original Irish, with a loose metrical English version (p. 46, sq.).

4. Mr. Martin A. O'Brennan, "LL. D., Member of the Honorable Society of Queen's Inns," has published this Hymn in the original Irish, with an English translation and copious notes, in vol. 1., p. 484, of a work, the first volume of which is entitled, "O'Brennan's Antiquities," and the second, "A School History of Ireland, from the Days of Partholan to the Present Day." *Dublin*, 8<sup>o</sup> (*sine anno*). The dedication of the second edition of vol. 1., "To his Grace the Most Rev. John Mac Hale," is dated "April, 1848."

5. O'Reilly (*ubi supra*) states that in 1792 [1791] this Hymn was published by Richard Plunket, "a neglected genius of the county Meath, who, in pages opposite to the original text, gave a version into modern Irish." This is an exceedingly rare tract, 8vo. pp. 32. The first page is blank; then follow two titles, one in English and the other Irish, on opposite pages. The English title is this: "An Hymn on the Life of St. Patrick: extracted, from the antient Scytho-Celtic dialect, into Modern Irish, by Richard Plunket, late Translator of the New Testament into Irish, who has now the Manuscript in his possession. *Dublin*. Printed in the year 1791." The Irish title is: "Himhin Phadrúig Absdal. Do enmadh re Feiche Easbug Shleibhte, a geondae na Banrioghna, disciobal agas fear comhainsire do Padraig fein. Air na mhineadh go deighneach san nuaghghaoi-

from Colgan's Text and Version; some with arbitrary alterations of the original, and translations which, so far as they differ from Colgan's, may be described as the offspring, for the most part, of presumptuous ignorance.

In the ancient Scholium, or Preface, prefixed to this Hymn, Fiacc<sup>1</sup> of Slebte, or Slebhte, is unhesitatingly pronounced to be its author. This ecclesiastic, who was honoured as a saint in the Irish Church on the 12th of October<sup>2</sup>, was descended from Cathair Mór (*Cathirius Magnus*, as O'Flaherty<sup>3</sup> Latinizes the name), who became monarch of Ireland, A. D. 174, and was killed in the battle of Tailte<sup>4</sup> (now Teltown, in Meath), A. D. 177. Fiacc's descent from this king of Ireland may be gathered from the Scholium or Preface to the Hymn as printed by Colgan, thus:

Cathair Mór,  
|  
Daire Barrach,  
|  
Bregan.  
|  
Ere.  
|  
Fiacc, of Slebhte.

dilig, *Re RIOSTARD PLUNCEAD*. A mbeul-atheliath an na chur a gelo san mbliadhan M.DCC.XCI." Then follows the Hymn in the ancient Irish, as given by Colgan, with a translation on the opposite page into the modern Irish of the peasantry, ending on p. 11. On pp. 12 and 13 are an English and Irish title to S. Brogan's Life of S. Bridget, with the Hymn in Colgan's text, and a translation into vulgar Irish as before, to p. 25. Page 26 is blank; and p. 27 is a title-page: "Short Directions for reading Irish, intended for those who can speak and understand the language. By Richard Plunket, late translator of the New Testament into Irish, who has now that manuscript in his possession. Dublin: Printed in the year M.DCC.XCI." This ends on p. 31, and p. 32 contains a list of Richard Plunket's works, in nine articles.

<sup>1</sup> *Fiacc*.—His name is written by Colgan *Fiecus*, and by Lanigan, Petrie, and others, *Fiech*. It has been so written in the early

pages of this work. In the Book of Armagh the name is written *Feecc*, *Fiacc*, and *Feccus*. The final c is never aspirated. Colgan has made this remark (*Tr. Thaum.*, p. 7, col. 2, not. 2). In the Life of St. Patrick by Probus (*lib. i. c. 41*; Colgan, p. 51), St. Fiacc is called *Phiehg*, or *Pheg*, as Ussher more correctly gives the name in quoting this passage, *Works*, vol. vi. p. 410, *Elrington's edit.* Although the name is written *Fiac* in the Book of Lecan and some other ancient authorities, the true spelling is *Fiacc*, which is the same as *Fiag*. The Welsh equivalent is *Gwyeh*.

<sup>2</sup> *October*.—His name occurs at this date (together with those of his son Fiachra, and Mobi Clairenech of Glasnevin) in the ancient *Felire*, or Festilogium, of Aengus the Culdee, a composition of the ninth century. See also Mart. of Donegal, p. 273.

<sup>3</sup> *O'Flaherty*.—Ogyg., Part iii. c. 59, p. 310. Conf. Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. 22, note.

<sup>4</sup> *Tailte*.—See *Leabhar na gCeart*, or Book



Daire Barrach was the ancestor of the tribe of *Ui Bairrche*<sup>1</sup> (or "Descendants of Barrach"), the chieftain of which clan assumed the name of Mac Gorman in later times, after the introduction of surnames: and the church of Slébte now Slatey, or Sletty, is situated in the Queen's County, about two miles N. N. W. of the town of Carlow, in the midst of the country then inhabited by the tribe just mentioned.

The Dublin Book of Hymns adds another generation, if we have rightly interpreted the words "*In Fiac sin mē éside mē Ercha, mē Bregain*," to signify that this Fiace was the son of the son of Ere, son of Bregan, or Breacan. But even with this addition, the foregoing genealogy is manifestly inconsistent with the age usually assigned to St. Fiace. The narrative which makes him to have been consecrated a bishop by St. Patrick, assumes that he must have been of mature age, about A.D. 448<sup>3</sup>, or upwards of 270 years after the death of Cathair Mór, if we adopt the chronology of O'Flaherty, and 326 years, if we are guided by the Four Masters. This is altogether too long a period for the number of generations which the above genealogy has placed between Fiace and his royal ancestor; and necessarily leads to the conclusion, either that some intermediate generations have been omitted, or that the reign of Cathair Mór is antedated in our annals: for the only remaining alternative, that St. Fiace lived before the age of St. Patrick, is manifestly untenable.

The supposition of an error in the number of the generations is rendered probable by the discrepancy in at least one of the names in the genealogy as it is given in the Preface to this Poem in the Dublin Book of Hymns, and as it is found in the *Genealogia Sanctorum*, or *Sanctilogium Genealogicum* (as Colgan calls it), in the Book of Lecan. In the Dublin Book of Hymns, the son of Daire Barrach is named Bregan; in the *Genealogia Sanctorum*, he is named Fiac, or Fiace; and that these were in reality two, and not the same individual<sup>4</sup>,

of Rights, p. 205. The Four Masters give as the site of this battle Magh hAgha, which is probably a place near Tailte. They have the reign of Cathair Mór A.D. 120-122. The dates A.D. 174-177 are O'Flaherty's.

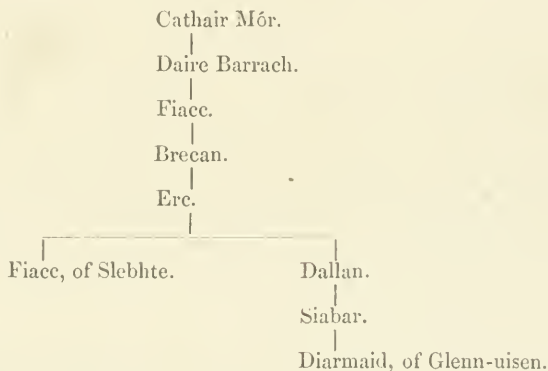
<sup>1</sup> *Ui Bairrche*.—See *Leabhar na gCeart*, or *Book of Rights*, and Dr. O'Donovan's notes, p. 192, sq. Eithnea, the mother of St. Columba, was also of the *Ui Bairrche*.—Reeves, *Adamnan*, pp. 8, 163, notes.

<sup>2</sup> *Tribe*.—This district was called *Omagh*, the Anglicized pronunciation of *Ui mBairrche*, signifying the country of the *Ui Bairrche*, or Descendants of Barrach. *Slébte* signifies "mountainous."

<sup>3</sup> *About A.D. 448*.—This is the date assigned by Ussher to the ordination of St. Fiace, *Index Chron.* (Works, tom. vi., p. 571, Elrington's ed.).

<sup>4</sup> *Individual*.—Colgan, *Tr. Th.*, p. 8, n. 4.

is evident from the genealogy of St. Diarmaid (or Modinog, as he was sometimes called), of Glenn-uisen<sup>1</sup>, who was of the same family, and whose descent from Cathair Mór is given<sup>2</sup> in eight generations inclusive, in which we have Fiacc, son of Daire Barrach, and Breacan, or Bregan, the son of Fiacc, so that we have thus an approximation to a more correct genealogy, showing the relationship of both saints, as follows:—



It may be observed also that the same authority gives two distinct genealogies of St. Fiacc, in one of which his father is called *Erc*<sup>3</sup>—gen. *Erca* (as in the *Book of Hymus*), and in the other his father is *Erchad*<sup>4</sup>—gen. *Erchada*, son of Erc. Assuming that a generation was here again omitted (an error that would be facilitated by the similarity of the names), Fiacc will appear in the seventh generation from Cathair Mór, inclusive: thus,—

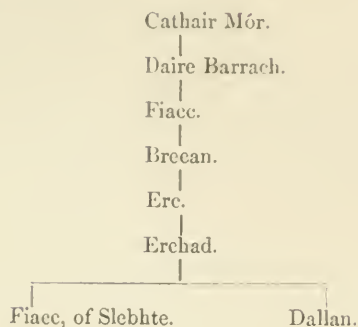
<sup>1</sup> *Glenn-uisen*.—Now Killeslin, in the Queen's County, near Carlow: not Glen or Glin in the King's County, as Archdall conjectures.—See Four Mast. at A.D. 842, and Dr. O'Donovan's note.

<sup>2</sup> *Given*.—Sanctilog. Geneal. Book of Lecan, fol. 49 b., col. 1. It is remarkable that in another copy of the genealogy of St. Diarmaid, given in the same tract (fol. 53 b., col. 4) the names of Erc and Breacan or Bregan are omitted: thus, "Diarmaid, i.e. Modinog of Glenn-uisen, s. of Siabarr; s. of Dallan; s. of Fiacc; s. of Daire Barrach; s. of Cathair Mór." Here two generations of the for-

mer line are wanting. This proves that errors existed in the pedigrees of this race; and we know that omissions of this kind are frequent in all genealogies.

<sup>3</sup> *Erc*.—B. of Lecan, fol. 54, b. col. 2, thus: "Fiacc of Slebte, s. of Erc; s. of Fiacc; s. of Daire Barrach; s. of Cathair Mór."

<sup>4</sup> *Erchad*.—Ibid., fol. 48, a. col. 4, thus: "Fiacc of Slebhthe, s. of Erchad; s. of Fiacc; s. of Daire; s. of Cathair." It will be observed, however, that in both these genealogies Breacan is omitted, as if he was considered to be the same as Fiacc, s. of Daire Barrach.



This confirms our interpretation of the genealogy as given in the Dublin Book of Hymns, which makes Fiacc the grandson of Erc, or son of Mac Erca. There is reason, however, to suspect a further error. For in the genealogies of the families descended from Daire Barrach, as given in the Book of Lecan<sup>1</sup>, there is the following statement:—

1r 6 mac Erca .i. Fiacc mac Dara Erpoc plebte.	It is from Mac Erca that Fiacc, son of Dara, bishop of Slebhthe, [descends].
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This seems to say that Fiacc was the son of Dara, and descended from Mac Erca, or Erc's son. Here we have one additional generation, supposing Dara to have been the son of Erchad Mac Erca; but it is quite as probable that two or more generations may have intervened; for in the Book of Leinster<sup>2</sup> where there is an entry corresponding to the above, Fiacc is said to have been the son of the son of Dara:—

1r 6 mac meic Erca .i. Fiacc erpoc Slebte .i. mac meic Dara.	It is from the son of the son of Erc, i. e. Fiacc, bishop of Slebte, i. e. son of the son of Dara.
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Discrepancies of this kind, which manifestly exist in these records, prove that the chronological difficulty of the genealogy may be altogether the result of errors in the transcription<sup>3</sup>. We may therefore assume that St. Fiacc, of

<sup>1</sup> *Book of Lecan*.—Fol. 97 a., col. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Book of Leinster*.—Fol. 219 a. See also Book of Ballymote, fol. 73 b.

<sup>3</sup> *Transcription*.—The same considerations will enable us to correct the genealogy of St. Ethnea, mother of St. Columba (see Reeves'

*Adamnan*, p. 8), which is also too short for the chronology, she being sixth in descent from the same Mac Erca, who was the grandfather or great-grandfather of St. Fiacc. But her genealogy, as given in the *Sanct. Geneal.* and also in the *Felire of Aengus* (at June 9),

Slebhte, according to the legend recorded in the preface to the following Hymn, may have been descended from Cathair Mór perhaps in the ninth or tenth generation, and therefore a contemporary of St. Patrick. The date assigned by Ussher to St. Fiace's ordination is, as we have already said, 448. At that time he must have been about thirty years of age; for although we cannot, perhaps, argue that he could not in Ireland have been canonically consecrated a bishop if under that age, it is most probable that his son Fiachra had been born before Fiace was admitted to holy orders: and he himself must therefore have been of mature age at that time. Assuming these premises, the year 418 will be about the year of his birth; and if he survived St. Patrick, whose death is generally dated 493, he may have lived to be about the age of 80 or 90. In this there is nothing improbable or actually incredible; and there remain no grounds for disturbing the Chronological place assigned to Fiace of Slebhte, in the traditions of the Irish Church, as a contemporary and disciple of St. Patrick.

We must now examine the question of the authenticity of the Hymn. Can it be regarded as a composition of this remote antiquity? Is it possible to receive it as the work of the St. Fiace who was consecrated a bishop by St. Patrick?

The celebrated Jesuit, Father Daniel Papebroch<sup>1</sup>, one of the Bollandist collectors of the great *Acta Sanctorum*, has refused it a place in his collection of the Lives of St. Patrick, because he considered it impossible<sup>2</sup>, from internal

omits all mention of Mac Erea, owing, no doubt, to the same similarity of names which has occasioned the confusion in the case of St. Fiace. If St. Columba was born A.D. 521 (Reeves, *ibid.*, p. lxix), the birth of his mother cannot have been much before A.D. 500, or 323 years after the death of Cathair Mór. It is curious that Dr. Reeves (*ibid.*, p. 164, n.), when he adopted the common genealogy, which makes St. Fiace *fourth* in descent from Daire Barrach, did not perceive the chronological difficulty; and yet he assumes the early date A.D. 120 of the reign of Cathair Mór (p. 8, note), by which that difficulty is increased.

<sup>1</sup> Papebroch.—The *Comment. Præv.* on the Life of St. Patrick in the *Acta SS.* of the Bollandists is anonymous; but Father Byeus, in his Life of St. Fiace, says expressly that Daniel Papebroch was the author—a name of high authority.—*Act. SS. Oct.*, tom. vi. *De S. Fieco. Comm. præv.* num. 3 (p. 97. C).

<sup>2</sup> Impossible.—His words are: "Hymnum autem jam dictum libenter nos quoque hic daremus: sed fatemur ingenue vereri nos ne non ipsius Fieci sit, ejus saltem qui primus Sleptiis a S. Patricio est constitutus episcopus."—*Act. SS. Martii.* tom. ii. p. 520 A. But the Hymn is ancient, and ought to have been given.



evidence, that the Hymn could really have been written by a contemporary of St. Patrick; and this decision has been endorsed by a later Bollandist, Cornelius Byeus, the learned compiler of the Life of St. Fiace, at the 12th of October<sup>1</sup>.

The arguments adduced by these authors, against the great antiquity attributed to this Hymn, are as follows:—

First,—It can scarcely be supposed that a contemporary of St. Patrick could have written the first line of the Hymn, “Patrick was born at Nemthur, as has been related *in histories*.” This reference to *histories* implies such an interval in time between the author of the Hymn and the age of St. Patrick, as would make the name of his birth-place, and the actions of his life, matter of history: “vix inducimur” (says Papebroch) “ut Patricianas vitas statim a morte scriptas intelligamus, eo nomine”<sup>2</sup>.

Colgan appears to have felt this difficulty, although he does not state it in express terms; but he anticipates it by his note on the passage, where he admits that the words, “as is recorded in histories,” imply the existence of “Acts” of St. Patrick before the composition of the Hymn; he argues, however, that this creates no difficulty, because Jocelin (writing about 1185) mentions four lives of the saint written during his lifetime by his contemporaries and disciples<sup>3</sup>, St. Loman, St. Mel, St. Benean, or Benignus, and St. Patrick, junior.

Another passage in which “histories” are alluded to, is ver. 12, where the author says that St. Patrick read the Canons with St. German, “as histories relate,” ‘*sicut testantur historiæ*’ (for so Colgan correctly<sup>4</sup> translates the words).

In reply to these objections, Mr. Patrick Lynch<sup>5</sup>, in his Life of St. Patrick, suggests that our author never quotes *histories*, except when he has occasion to record those events of St. Patrick’s life which had taken place in foreign

<sup>1</sup> *October*.—Actt. SS. Oct., tom. vi. p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> *Nomine*.—Actt. SS. Martii, tom. ii. p. 520.

<sup>3</sup> *Disciples*.—Colgan, Trias Thaum., p. 6, not. 3. “*Ut in historiis refertur*, c. 1. Indicant acta Patricii esse ante se scripta, et recte: quia quatuor alii discipuli ipsius S. Patricii, nempe S. Lomanus, S. Mel, S. Benignus, et S. Patricius junior scripserunt acta Patricii ante, ut testatur Jocelin, c. 186, vivente etiam adhuc ipso Patricio.”

<sup>4</sup> *Correctly*.—The old word *lne*, or *lfn* is rightly translated “*historiæ*” by Colgan. Lynch, without any authority, reads *lune*, the plural of *lan* [which ought to be *lann*], *with us*; and Dr. O’Conor tells us that *lne* is *ecclesiæ*. He translates, “*Est ita testantur ecclesiæ*.” *Rer. Ilib. Scriptt.*, tom. i.; *Proleg.*, part. i. p. xci. But the plural of *lann*, a church, would be *lanna*, not *lne*.

<sup>5</sup> *Lynch*.—Life of St. Patrick, p. 327.

countries, before Fiacc became known to his master. In the first line he refers to *histories* (pcéla), to establish St. Patrick's birth-place; in the twelfth line, as translated by Colgan, he cites *histories* (lín) to prove St. Patrick's residence in the islands of the Tyrrhene, or Mediterranean Sea, and his ecclesiastical education under St. German.

It should be observed that the word pcél (ver. 1), translated by Colgan history, denotes any story, tale, or narrative, handed down by tradition, written or unwritten, true or false. But the other word lín (*lín*a) (ver. 12) seems to imply writing; and the fact remains that the author of this Hymn has referred to extant tales, or stories, traditions, and writings, as authority for certain facts in the Life and Acts of St. Patrick; the improbability therefore continues in all its force that such narratives (whether they recorded the acts of the saint abroad or at home) could have been circulated, so as to have been well known and quoted by a contemporary of the saint, in the manner in which our author cites them. It might be thought that Fiacc's own testimony, if he had been personally acquainted with St. Patrick, would have been better than the testimony of any tales and stories, acts or lives, for such facts as the place of the Saint's birth, or his early travels and education. It is impossible to believe that a contemporary, who had been himself acquainted with his hero, could have referred to any tales, stories, traditions, or histories, written or unwritten, in confirmation of his statements.

Secondly,—Father Papebroch objects that it is difficult to believe how an author, who had been personally acquainted with St. Patrick, could have introduced into his poem so many legends manifestly fabulous<sup>1</sup>.

It is curious that Dr. Lanigan gives an opposite judgment. He says, "In the former," meaning Fiacc's Hymn, "which, as already observed, has a claim to very high antiquity, the narrative runs smooth and regular; nor do we find in it any of those ridiculous miracles that disgrace some of the later Lives".

<sup>1</sup> *Fabulous*.—"Vix inducimur ut . . . intelligamus . . . tam familiarem ipsi sancto poëtam tam multa fabulam redolentia huic suo carmini inseruisse."—*Actt. SS. Mart.*, tom. ii., 520 B.

<sup>2</sup> *Lives*.—*Ecl. Hist.*, vol. i., p. 80 (2nd edit.). Lanigan, however, does not maintain that this hymn was written by the Fiacc

who was a contemporary of St. Patrick: for in another place (to which he refers in the words above quoted) he says: "The Bollandists and some other judicious critics doubt of his (Fiacc's) being the author of it. But it does not follow that it is not very antient, and most probably not later than the seventh, or perhaps the sixth century."—*Ibid.*, p. 57, 8.

Nevertheless, the following miracles are mentioned in the Hymn:—The permanent impression of the angel's feet on a rock (ver. 8); apparitions of angels summoning St. Patrick to return to Ireland (ver. 14); the voices of the children in Connaught, heard by him in a distant country, calling upon him to come to their aid (ver. 16); the prophecies of his coming by the druids of Ireland (ver. 19-22); his extraordinary austerities, singing 100 psalms every night, standing in a well, and sleeping upon the hard stone, covered only with his wet garments (ver. 26-32); healing the blind and lepers, and bringing the dead to life (ver. 34); the burning bush in which the angel appeared to him, and foretold the supremacy of Armagh, and the privileges granted to the recitation of St. Sechnall's hymn (ver. 48-52); the sun standing still, in imitation of the miracle of Joshua (ver. 55-60); &c. These miracles, however, it may be said, are many of them imitations of miracles recorded in Scripture; they are such miracles as were, in that age, naturally attributed to the saint, and easily believed to have been performed by him, even among his immediate disciples; and, as Dr. Lanigan justly observes, they are not of the same "ridiculous" character<sup>1</sup>, as some of the miracles which "disgrace the later lives."

We may, therefore, reasonably doubt whether this argument of the learned Bollandist is conclusive; for it is certain that miracles, quite as incredible as these, have at all times, down to our own "enlightened" age, been attributed to individuals eminent for sanctity, even by those who were their companions and personal acquaintances: so that the insertion of such marvels in the biography of a saint is not of itself an absolute proof that the author lived at a period long subsequent to the age of his hero. Dr. Lanigan's argument is more sound—that the comparatively moderate character of these miracles, as contrasted with the extravagant marvels of the later lives, must be regarded as an evidence of the higher antiquity of this Hymn, even though we may hesitate to admit that it was written by a contemporary of St. Patrick.

<sup>1</sup> *Ridiculous character.*—For example, his lighting a fire with icicles instead of sticks; *Jocel.* c. 5; the water congealing in a kettle, notwithstanding the fire heaped around it, *ib.*, c. 20; his stone super-altar floating on the sea, and carrying a leper after the ship, c. 27; the same altar following him through the air, c. 55; the kid bleating from the stomach of the man who had stolen and eaten it, and

afterwards restored to its owner uninjured, &c. &c. Papebroch has rejected a great many of these miracles, and thrown them into his Appendix to the *Acta S. Patricii* (tom. ii. Martii, § III., p. 584). "In qua" (as *Bye* says) "una cum æquâ juxta ac acri, qua ibidem, § III., perstringuntur, censurâ, innoxie legi possent." *Act. SS. Oct.*, tom. vi. (ad 12 Oct., p. 98, E.).

Thirdly. The apparent allusions to the desolation of Tara (ver. 20 and 44), an event<sup>1</sup> which did not take place until after the year 560, is evidence that the Hymn could not have been written before the latter half of the sixth century.

If, therefore, St. Fiacc, of Slebhite, was the author, he must have lived to an age considerably beyond the ordinary term of human life. We are reduced to the necessity of attributing this Hymn to a writer, who must have flourished at the latter end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century, unless we are prepared to admit that St. Fiacc died at the advanced age of nearly a century and a half; or else to adopt the alternative, which Colgan prefers, of believing the allusion to the desolation of Tara to be a really inspired prediction<sup>2</sup> of that event.

Fourthly,—To these arguments it may be added that the author lived after the Hymn of St. Sechnall had become popular, and its use, as a *Lorica*, or protection against spiritual dangers to those who recited it, had been recognised; and also after the story of Patrick having obtained the privilege of being himself the Judge of the Irish at the Day of Judgment was invented<sup>3</sup>. This is evident from lines 51, 52, where the angel, who appeared to him in the bush, is introduced as announcing that his petitions were granted :

He [the angel] said, Primacy shall be at Armagh; give thanks to Christ.

To heaven shalt thou come, thy prayers are granted to thee :

The Hymn thou hast chosen in thy lifetime shall be a corslet of protection to every one :

Around thee, in the day of judgment, the men of Erin shall come to judgment.

<sup>1</sup> *Event*.—See the authorities for the cursing of Tara by St. Ruadan, or Rodan, of Lorrha, collected by Dr. Petrie, *Hist. and Antiq. of Tara Hill*, p. 125 (*Transact. Royal Irish Acad.*, vol. xviii., part 2).

<sup>2</sup> *Prediction*.—Papebroch says: "Qui [sc. Colganus] ne amittat auctorem, aut ipsum plus æquo annosum faciat, ista hymni verba in quibus de Temoriæ desolatione, post annum DLX factâ, agitur, prophetico spiritu dicta tanquam de re futurâ mavult credere; nobis autem explicatione tam violentâ auget formidinem prædictam" [formidinem, sc. ne non ipsius Fieci sit]. Colgan's words are as

follows:—"Observandum quod hic dicit S. Fiecus de desertâ vel deserendâ Temoriâ, certum propheticumque fuisse oraculum; vel si suo tempore vidit Temoriam desertam ipsum produxisse vitam usque ad annum 540" [*leg.* 560]; "quod mihi non probatur, cum fuerit florentis ætatis sub adventu Patricii anno 432. &c." *Triad. Thaum.*, p. 6, not. 16. But the allusions to the desolation of Tara are evidently references to an event past, and do not pretend to be predictions of the future.

<sup>3</sup> *Invented*.—See above, p. 22, note. It will be observed that nothing of this sort is to be found in the Hymn of St. Sechnall.



We have here manifestly the germ of the legend given more fully by Probus<sup>1</sup>, or the author of the fifth life in Colgan's Collection; and there exists what is, perhaps, a still more ancient summary of the privileges of St. Patrick, in Tirechan's Annotations on the saint's life, compiled in the seventh century, and preserved in the Book of Armagh.<sup>2</sup>

It is scarcely credible that legends of this character could have been current so soon after the death of St. Patrick as to be adopted by a contemporary and disciple; and it is probable that the enumeration of these privileges by Tirechan is an earlier form of the legend than that given in the Hymn by our author. For Tirechan makes no mention of the apparition of the angel in the bush, nor of St. Patrick's being appointed the Judge of the Irish. It is evident also, from the above-cited stanzas, that the Hymn before us must have been written after the question of the Primacy of Armagh had become a subject of debate; and it is not likely that this could have been the case in the lifetime of a contemporary of St. Patrick.

It is remarkable that some of the collections in the Book of Armagh, relating to the Life of Patrick (which are probably the originals from which the biography, attributed to Probus, and other similar works, were compiled) are attributed in that MS. to "Muirechu Maccumachtheni;" who, it is expressly said, wrote them at the dictation of a bishop of Slebhite, "dictante Aiduo Slebtiensis civitatis episcopo"<sup>3</sup>. From this it may perhaps be inferred that

<sup>1</sup> *Probus*.—Lib. ii., c. 33.—*Triad. Thaum.*, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> *Armagh*.—See above, p. 50 (where Tirechan's words are quoted); and Petrie, *Antiq. of Tara Hill*, p. 68.

*Episcopo*.—Lib. Ardmac., fol. 20, b., a. See Petrie, *Antiq. of Tara Hill*, p. 110 (Trans. Royal Irish Acad., vol. xviii., part ii.) Colgan, *Triad. Thaum.*, p. 218, col. 1. The Aidus, Bishop of Slebhite, here mentioned was, in all probability, the same whose death, under the name of "Aodh, anchorite of Sleibhte," is recorded by the Four Mast. A.D. 698: where see O'Donovan's notes. If so, Muirechu Maccumachtheni must be regarded as an author of the seventh century. The Annals of

Ulster record the death of Aedh, at 699, in these words: *Quies Aedo anachorite o Sleibtiu*. Tighernach has the same words at A. D. 700. Dr. Reeves has given a curious extract from the Book of Armagh, showing the zeal of this Aedh bishop of Sletty for the church of Armagh; *Adamnan*, Additional Notes, p. 323, n. <sup>d</sup>. This, taken in connexion with the passages of the hymn above cited, advocating the primacy of Armagh, is an additional evidence that the Hymn belongs to the times of Bp. Aedh (A. D. 700), rather than to those of Fiacc, the disciple of St. Patrick. The genealogy of Aedh has been preserved. He was of the same family as St. Fiacc; and it is remarkable that his pedigree is defective

St. Fiacc had left to the safe keeping of his successors in that see some valuable historical collections, or traditions relating to St. Patrick; these are, very probably, the "*histories*" referred to by the author of the Hymn now before us, and it is not unlikely that the Hymn itself (having been compiled from the traditions of the church of Slebhite, derived from Fiacc, the disciple of St. Patrick), came to be attributed to Fiacc himself as its author.

Fifthly,—One of the most plausible arguments for the antiquity of the Hymn is derived from the antiquity of the Scholiast, or author of the Preface and notes, who, Colgan maintains, must have flourished before the close of the sixth century. The testimony, therefore, of so early an author, who asserts, without hesitation, that the hymn was composed by St. Fiacc, of Slebhite, must necessarily be received with respect.

Colgan's reason for assigning so early a date to the Scholiast is this: The Preface states expressly that St. Fiacc, having been consecrated a bishop by St. Patrick, was soon afterwards made "Archbishop of Leinster"—*arcepepoḡ laigen*—and that his successors continued to enjoy that dignity ever since.

These words imply, says Colgan<sup>1</sup>, that the successors of St. Fiacc continued to hold the archiepiscopal dignity in the time of our Scholiast; but we learn from

in the same way, and probably owing to the same cause—the accidental omission of names of similar sound. The genealogy is as follows (Book of Leinster, fol. 238 a):—"Bishop Aedh, s. of Brocan, s. of Cormac, s. of Diarmait, s. of Eochaidh Guineach, s. of Aongus, s. of Ere, s. of Breacan, s. of Fiacc, s. of Daire Barrach, s. of Cathair mór." On comparing this pedigree with that of St. Fiacc, it will be seen that the defect occurs in the same place as before, viz., between Ere and Aongus. For Eochaidh Guineach slew his maternal grandfather, Crimthan King of Leinster, A. D. 484, according to the Chron. Scotorum, dated by O'Flaherty; it is impossible, therefore, that he can have been only seventh in descent from Cathair mór. But the genealogy between bishop Aedh and Eochaidh Guineach, seems to be correct, and is quite consistent with the date assigned to the death

of Aedh, by the Annals of Ulster and Tigernach. Murchu Maceumachtheni was one of the ecclesiastics present at the synod of Adamnan, which exempted women from service in war; *circ.* A. D. 690. Reeves, *Adamnan, App. to Pref.*, p. l. and li., note c. See also Colgan, *Tr. Thaum.*, p. 218, col. 1. Actt. SS. p. 465 a., n. 31.

<sup>1</sup> Colgan.—"Hic autem obiter observa hujus Scholiastæ vetustatem, qui videtur floruisse ante sæculi sexti finem: nam verbis citatis indicat Successores S. Fiaci fuisse Archiepiscopos Lageniæ usque ad sua tempora. Cogitatus autem Nepos S. Brigidæ, et qui floruit ante finem sæculi sexti, in Præfatione ad vitam ejusdem sanctæ Virginis, indicat Sedem Archiepiscopalem Lageniensium fuisse Kildariæ suo tempore: et author vitæ S. Maidoci (quam damus ad 31 Januarii) capite 28 ejusdem vitæ, scribit eandem Sedem fuisse per

Cogitosus, author of the Life of St. Bridget, that in his time (the latter half of the sixth century, as Colgan thought) Kildare was the archiepiscopal see of Leinster; and the author of the Life of St. Aedan, or Moedóg, states that Brandubh, King of Leinster, together with a synod of the province, had made Ferns the archiepiscopal see: a change which must have taken place before the end of the sixth century, because King Brandubh was slain in 601, according to the Annals of the Four Masters. The successors of St. Fiacc of Slebhthe, therefore, cannot have continued archbishops much longer than about the middle of the sixth century, which, accordingly, fixes the date of the Scholiast.

To this Father Byeus<sup>1</sup>, in his life of St. Fiacc, replies that the title of archbishop was not given to any bishops in Ireland, until the twelfth century; and, therefore, he concludes that the Scholiast, by giving that title to St. Fiacc, betrays the fact that he himself cannot have flourished before that period. Byeus appears to draw a similar inference from the title of *Archpoet*, given by the Scholiast to Dubhthach, the tutor of St. Fiacc, which, he says, "savours of the eleventh or twelfth century." But this very title ought to have led him to recognize his mistake; for by calling Dubhthach "*Archpoet* of Ireland," the Scholiast did not intend to say that Dubhthach held any office, or exercised any jurisdiction over the other poets of Ireland, but simply that he was the most eminent poet, or the chief poet of Ireland; and so, in like manner, when the Scholiast calls Fiacc *Archbishop*, the meaning is that he was the most eminent, or remarkable bishop of Leinster.

Brandubium Regem (qui occubuit anno 601), et synodum Lageniensium constitutam Fernæ. Idemque scribit Author vitæ S. Molingi, quam damus ad 17 Junii." *Triad. Thaum.*, p. 8, not. 8. The date of King Brandubh's death is given by the Four Mast. 601; by the Ann. Ult., 604; and by Tigernach (or rather by O'Flaherty, who has dated the Annals of Tigernach), 605. This last is no doubt the correct year.

<sup>1</sup> Byeus, — Aett. SS. ad 12 Oct.. p. 98, num. 7. "At vero, etsi quidem inter Hiberniæ episcopos, semper aliqui, qui præ aliis quid amplioris dignitatis aut jurisdictionis ecclesias-

tiæ haberent, hincque recte dici possent *primates*, extiterint, ii tamen non prius quam sec. circiter xii, uti ad xvii Junii diem in Commentario actis S. Molingi Fernensis episcopi prævio, num. 8, jam docuimus, appellari cæperunt *archiepiscopi*; quare eum nihilominus S. Fieco *archiepiscopi* titulum, ac præterea Dubtacho, ejus ille discipulus extitisse perhibetur, honorificam *archipoetæ*, appellationem, quæ seculum xi. aut xii. sapit, attribuat S. Fiechi scholiastes, scriptorem hunc, ut jam statui, ante sec. vi. finem vel paulo duntaxat post floruisse, quis credat"? See *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, p. 14, sq.

The mistake is one into which Colgan himself has fallen, and which impairs the validity of his argument on the other side; for the Scholiast does not use the ecclesiastical Greek title *Arch-bishop*, (which in its strict sense, as implying canonical jurisdiction over other bishops, was unknown in Ireland until the twelfth century), but *Ard-epsco*p, high bishop; *Ard-file*, high poet—that is to say, chief or principal bishop, or poet, not in reference to jurisdiction, but in reference to respect or precedency. In this sense, there is nothing inconsistent in the supposition that there might be more than one *ard-*, or *chief*-bishop in a district; and, consequently, when our Scholiast calls the successors of St. Fiacc in Slebhite, *ard*, or *chief*-bishops, and says that they were so regarded down to his own day, it does not at all follow that the bishops of Kildare and Ferns may not have also been considered *ard*, or *chief* bishops, at the same time.

The passage in the Preface to the Life of St. Bridget, by Cogitosus, to which Colgan refers, is a remarkable evidence of this loose or rather ancient use of the term, even as it stands in Colgan's Latin Version. For the author tells us, not as Colgan represents his testimony, that Kildare was recently made the archiepiscopal see of Leinster, but that it had *always* been an archbishopric of Ireland, that is to say, a chief or principal bishopric of Ireland: his words<sup>1</sup> are,—“Quam [*sc. cathedram*] *semper* Archiepiscopus Hiberniensium Episcoporum, et Abbatissa, quam omnes Abbatissæ Scotorum venerantur, felici successione, et ritu perpetuo dominantur.” It is evident that Cogitosus must have here used the Irish word *ard-epsco*p, chief bishop, not the modern ecclesiastical title *archbishop*, of which he could have known nothing: and the meaning of the foregoing passage was simply this, that the see, or *cathedra*, of Kildare was always governed by a bishop who was recognized as an *ard*, or *high* bishop [that is, as holding an eminent place among the Irish bishops], and by an abbess, who was regarded with veneration by all other abbesses of the Scots or Irish.

The Bishop of Kildare was *chief* amongst the bishops, in the same sense in which the Abbess of Kildare was *chief* amongst the abbesses of the Scotie nation; and it should be particularly noticed that this, he says expressly, had been *always* the case,—*semper*<sup>2</sup>, i. e. from the very foundation of the monastery. It

<sup>1</sup> His words.—Colgan, *Triad. Thaum.*, p. 518.

<sup>2</sup> *Semper*.—It is curious to read Colgan's note on the words, “Quam semper Archiepis-

copus Hiberniensium Episcoporum,” &c. He says, “Non intelligit quod fuerit omnium Hibernorum” [although Cogitosus expressly says so], “sed solum *Lageniensium* Archie-



is evident, therefore, that Cogitosus spoke only of a pre-eminence of dignity or respect, not of metropolitan or archiepiscopal jurisdiction; and such pre-eminence did not interfere with the same title of *ard-epsco*p, or archbishop (if we choose to translate it so) being given to other bishops at the same time, and even within the same district, such as Leinster.

This fallacy runs through all that Colgan has written on the subject; and has, in all probability, also unconsciously interfered with the exact fidelity of his translations from the Irish. For example, in translating the words of the Scholiast, in the Preface to the Hymn before us, he makes his author say,—“Et postea ab eodem [*sc.* Patricio] consecratus est [Ficcus] Episcopus, et tandem Lageniæ Archiepiscopus institutus: quo etiam munere ejus Comorbani, sive Successores abinde funguntur”<sup>1</sup>. Here there is nothing in the original to represent the words *tandem institutus*, or *munere funguntur*, although honest Colgan, thinking only of the modern archiepiscopal function, doubtless believed that by this paraphrase he was only more fully expressing the meaning of his author. But the original says merely that Fiacc was ordained a bishop by St. Patrick, and from that time was regarded as a chief or eminent bishop, as were his successors after him.

The passage quoted by Colgan, from the Life of St. Moedóc of Ferns, has doubtless suffered in the same way from the prepossession of its translator, who probably lived at a period when the modern idea of an archbishop was better known. He tells us that a great synod held in Leinster by King Brandubh, in which the laity, as well as clergy, had seats, decreed, in honour of St. Moedóc, and, in reward for his services to the King, that the see of Ferns, then recently founded, should be thenceforth the Archbishopric of Leinster: “ut archiepiscopatus omnium Lagenensium semper esset in sede et cathedra S. Moedóc;” and, accordingly, the saint was then consecrated archbishop “by many Catholics”<sup>2</sup>. But all this, most probably, means no more than that St.

piscopus. Nec hæc dignitas metropolitana semper Kildariæ fuit” [although Cogitosus says expressly that it was; using this very word *semper*]. Colgan then goes on to say that St. Fiacc, as bishop of Slebhite, was the first archbishop of Leinster; that then the metropolitan jurisdiction was transferred to Kildare; then to Ferns, and finally to Dublin,

where it still remains. But nothing can be more clear than that Cogitosus was not thinking of archiepiscopal or metropolitan jurisdiction, in the modern sense, in which the see of Dublin now possesses it. *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, p. 17.

<sup>1</sup> *Funguntur*.—Triad. Thaum., p. 4, n. 1 a.

<sup>2</sup> *Catholics*.—Colgan, Actt. SS. ad 31 Jan.,

Moedóc and his successors should always be regarded as chief or eminent bishops<sup>1</sup>.

It follows that Colgan's argument to prove that his Scholiast flourished in the sixth century, and the argument of Byens, bringing him down to the twelfth, are both fallacious; both being founded on the same assumption that the title *ard-episcop*, as used in Irish authorities, was equivalent to the later ecclesiastical term *Archbishop*, and implied canonical or metropolitan jurisdiction.

The opinion expressed by Papebroch<sup>2</sup>, although rejected by Byens, is, therefore, in the Editor's judgment, more near the truth, viz., that the Scholiast is to be regarded as an author of the eighth (or, perhaps he ought rather to have said, as he spoke only of Colgan's Scholiast, the tenth or eleventh) century.

By Colgan's Scholiast is here meant the author of the Preface, or biographical account of St. Fiacc, prefixed to the Hymn: for the gloss or notes may perhaps be from a still later hand. These, now for the first time printed, from the Dublin MS. of the *Liber Hymnorum*, are manifestly older than the notes published by Colgan. And, nevertheless, from the explanations given in them of obscure and obsolete words, it is evident that some time must have elapsed between their composition and the composition of the original hymn. The prevailing character of these notes is etymological and philological. The notes printed by Colgan are, for the most part, historical and legendary; and they contain

p. 211, cap. 28. "Et magna civitas in honore S. Moedoc ibi crevit, quæ eodem nomine vocatur .i. Fearna. Deinde facta synodo magnâ in terra Lagenensium decrevit Rex Brandub et tam laici, quam clerici ut archiepiscopatus omnium Lageniensium semper esset in sede et cathedra S. Moedoc. Et tunc sanctus Moedoc a multis Catholicis consecratus est archiepiscopus." The words "a multis Catholicis consecratus" are obscure. Was this passage written at a time when a bishop might have been consecrated in Ireland by any who were not Catholics? What non-Catholic bishops were then in Ireland?

<sup>1</sup> *Bishops*.—Colgan's elaborate note on this passage (*Actt. SS.*, p. 217, n. 29), with the

authorities which he there quotes to prove that there were always Archbishops in Ireland, is full of the same fallacy.

<sup>2</sup> *Papebroch*.—See his *Comm. prævius in Actt. S. Patricii* (ad xvii. Mart., num. 15 (p. 520 B), where he says, "Sed et scholia in hymnum illum scripta non videntur nobis tam esse antiqua quam existimant aliqui: cum in iis non pauca occurrunt, quæ seculo septimo posteriorem auctorem sapiunt." And again, num. 33 (p. 523 D.), he says: "In quem [hymnum S. Fiaci] antiqui Scholiastæ notæ pertinent ad seculum non vi., sed viii., ut illis antiquior sit Vita tum illa quam Evinius scripsit, tum alia quam Tirechanus fecit, qui ambo seculo vii. floruerunt."

also such legends as prove them to be, beyond all doubt, much later than the Hymn.

For example, the Hymn contains no allusion to the celebrated *Baculus JESU*, or "staff of JESUS," which St. Patrick was said to have received from a hermit of the Tyrrhene sea<sup>1</sup>, and which, according to the Tripartite Life, was also delivered to him by Christ Himself<sup>2</sup>. But the story is alluded to in Colgan's edition of the Scholia, where it is said that Patrick "found" the *Baculus* in an island of the Tyrrhene sea, called *Alanensis*, near Mount Armon<sup>3</sup>.

This story can scarcely be older than the eighth or ninth century. It is not found in the Book of Armagh, nor in the *Second Life*, published by Colgan, the author of which must have lived some time after the death of St. Fiacc, for he tells us expressly that the relics of Fiacc were in his time preserved in the church of *Slebhte*<sup>4</sup>. It is not mentioned in the Life by Probus, who, nevertheless, notices the "*baculus*"<sup>5</sup> of Patrick, and attributes to it miraculous virtues, but without any intimation that it was "the Staff of Jesus;" and no allusion to it occurs in the Gloss or Scholia of the Dublin MS., which are now for the first time published.

Again, the notes of Colgan's MS. are the only authority for the statement that the voices of the children of Caille Fochlad, calling upon St. Patrick to come and save them, were heard in Rome, not by Patrick only, but also by Pope Celestine<sup>6</sup>. This is an improvement upon the story told in the Hymn

<sup>1</sup> *Tyrrhene Sea*.—Vit. 3<sup>ua</sup>, cap. 23; Vit. 4<sup>ta</sup>, cap. 29; Vit. 6<sup>ta</sup> (Jocelin.) cap. 24.

<sup>2</sup> *Himself*.—"Venit ad vicinum Montem Hermon, in quo placuerit Christo ei apparere; ibique tanquam alteri Moysi tradidit jam laudatum baculum, qui passim Baculus JESU nuncupatur."—*Vit. Trip.* i., c. 37.

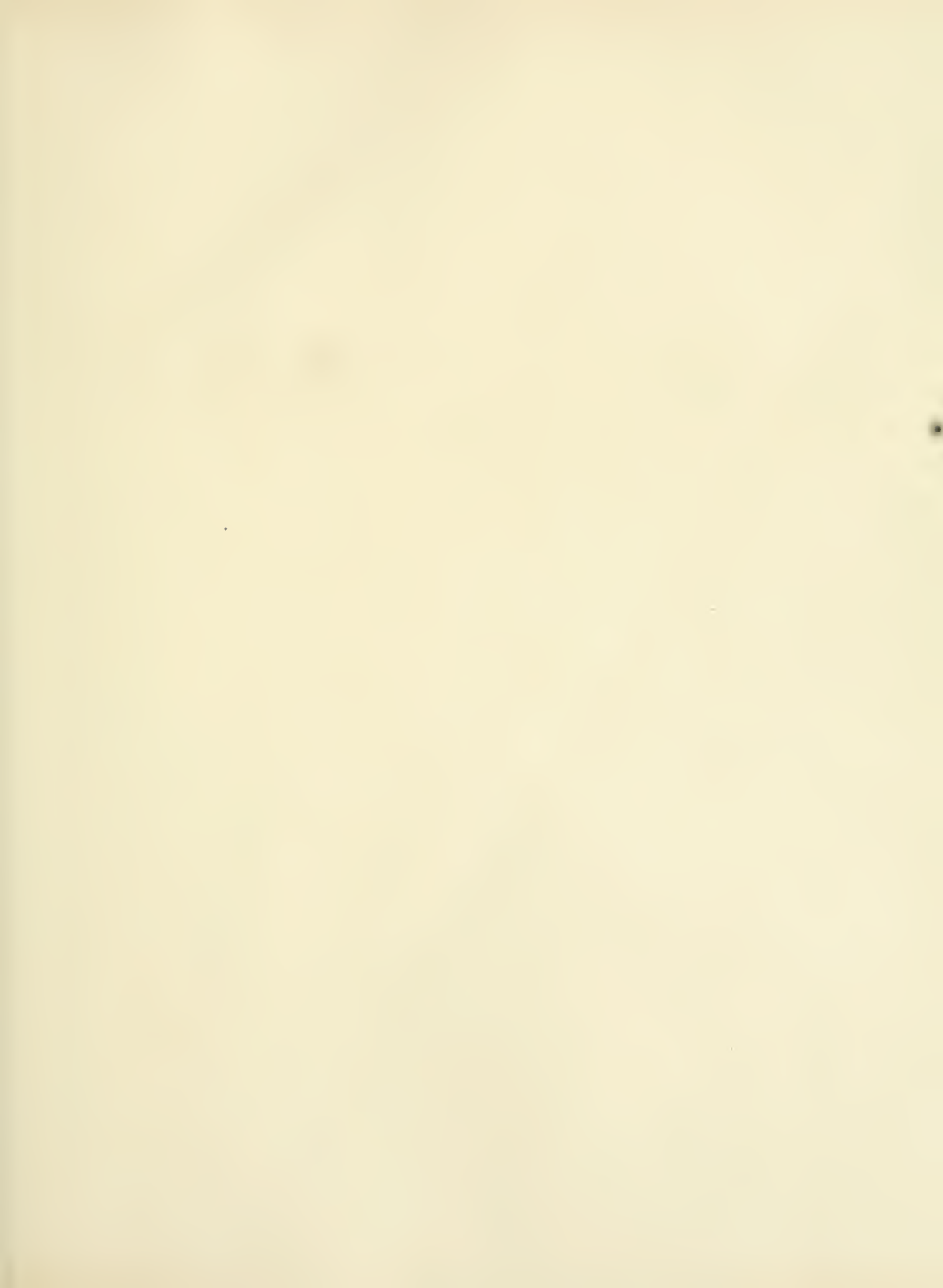
<sup>3</sup> *Armon*.—"Et tunc invenit baculum JESU, in insula Alanensi, prope Montem Armon."

<sup>4</sup> *Slebhte*.—"Quidam adolescens nomine Fiecc, qui postea fuit episcopus, et reliquiae eius hi Sleibhte [venerantur]." Vit. 2<sup>da</sup>, c. 38 (Triad. Thaum., p. 15). But these words are closely connected with a passage in the Book of Armagh, where we read (fol. 4, b 2) —"Quidam adolescens poeta nomine Feecc, qui postea mirabilis episcopus fuit, cujus re-

liquiae adorantur hi Sleibti." The Vita secunda calls Fiecc "adolescens," not "adolescens poeta;" and "episcopus," not "mirabilis episcopus." Is this evidence that the Vita secunda is older than the Book of Armagh?

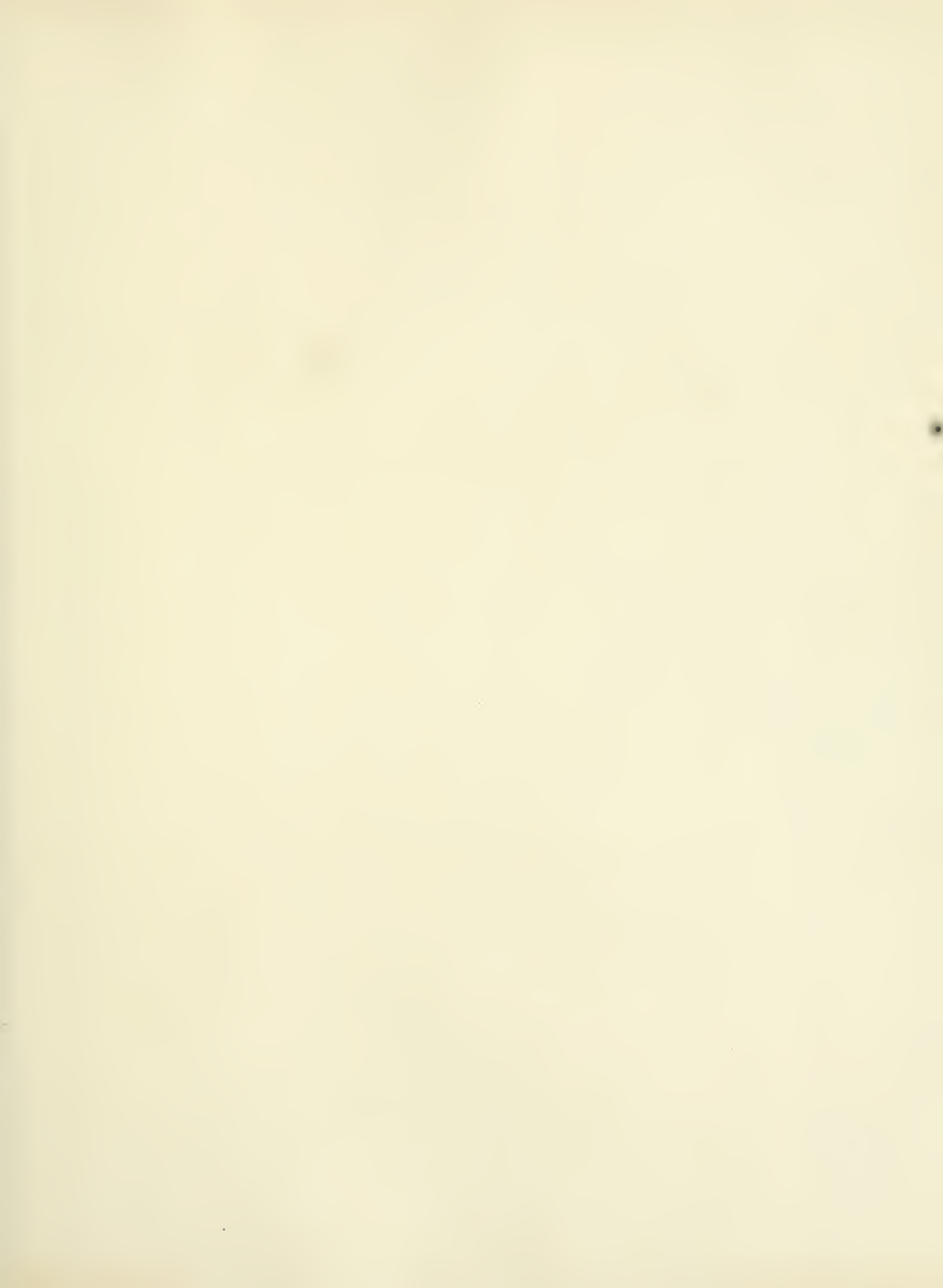
<sup>5</sup> *Baculus*.—Vit. 5, (Probus) lib. ii., c. 21. For the more recent history of this celebrated *Baculus*, see *Obits and Martyrol. of Christ's Church*, Introd., p. xi, sq., where the Editor must confess to an oversight, when he said that the Lives of St. Patrick all speak of this baculus. Comp. *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*, pp. 323, 328, 331.

<sup>6</sup> *Celestine*.—"Ipse Cælestinus quando ordinabatur Patricius, audiebat vocem infantium eum advocantium."













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